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THE

HISTORY

OF

GREECE.

By WILLIAM MITFORD, Esq.

VOL. VIII.

BOSTON:

PUBLISHED BY TIMOTHY BEDLINGTON AND CHARLES EWER,

CORNHILL.

1823.

AH 42.77.95.5.5

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CONTENTS

OF

THE EIGHTH VOLUME.

CHAPTER XLIX.

ALEXANDER'S Third Campain in ASIA.

SECTION I. Recruits for Alexander's Army. March from Egypt to Tyre. Question of a Third Embassy from Darius to Alexander. Embassies from Greece . . p. 1.

SECTION II. March from Tyre across Syria : Passage of the Euphrates : March across Mesopotamia : Passage of the Tigris. Station of Darius's Army at Gaugamela near Arbela. Forces of the Armies p. 8.

SECTION III. Battle of Gaugamela, commonly called of Arbela p. 16.

SECTION IV. Alexander's March to Babylon, Susa and Pasargadæ or Persepolis p. 26.

CHAPTER L.

ALEXANDER'S Fourth Campain in ASIA: Affairs in GREECE: Trials for High Treason, marking the Character of the MACEDONIAN Constitution.

SECTION I. Measures of Darius. Affairs in Greece; Confederacy under the lead of Lacedæmon against that under the king of Macedonia; and War insuing . . p. 41.

SECTION II. Alexander's march into Media: Flight of Darius from Ecbatana: Reinforcement to Alexander's Army. Pursuit of Darius: His death: Honors to his memory p. 53.

SECTION III. Alexander's Measures for completing the reduction of the Northern Provinces. Surrender of several Satraps; of the Grecian Troops in the Persian service; of Ministers from Grecian republics to the Persian Court. League of Satraps against Alexander, and acknowlegement of Bessus as Successor to the Persian monarchy. Treachery of Satibarzanes p. 61.

SECTION IV. Trials of Philotas and others for High Treason p. 69.

CHAPTER LI.

ALEXANDER'S Fifth Campain in ASIA, which completed the Conquest of the PERSIAN Empire.

SECTION I. Natural and Political circumstances of the Northern Provinces of the Persian Empire. Rebellion of Satibarzanes. Paropamisan Alexandria founded. Asiatic Recruits to Alexander's Army p. 81.

SECTION II. Measures of Bessus. Discontent in Alexander's Army: Pursuit of Bessus: Critical Circumstances of Alexander: Surrender of Bessus p. 96.

SECTION III. Stubborn resistance of the Northern Asiatics. Negotiation with Scythian kingdoms. A Grecian Colony established among the Scythians not Subjects of the kingdoms. War with the Scythians, not Subjects of the kingdoms p. 103.

SECTION IV. Recruits to Alexander's Army. Cruel Treatment of Bessus. Difficulties for Alexander arising from his successes. Embassies from Scythian and other Northern Princes p. 116.

SECTION V. Different Character of Northern and Southern People of the Persian Empire. New Rebellion of the Sogdians under Spitamenes. Death of Spitamenes, and final Reduction of the Sogdians p. 123.

SECTION VI. Circumstances of Scythia. Country between Media and Scythia. Siege of the Hill-Fort of Oxyartes. Marriage of Alexander with Roxana daughter of Oxyartes. Conquest of the Persian Empire completed . p. 130.

CHAPTER LII.

Controversy on the Kingly Office and Dignity: Trials for High Treason.

SECTION I. Republican Greek Philosophers following Alexander's Court: Controversy on the Kingly office and dignity p. 140.

SECTION II. Death of Cleitus p. 150.

SECTION III. Conspiracy of the Band of Pages p. 155.

CHAPTER LIII.

War prosecuted by ALEXANDER beyond the Bounds of the PERSIAN Empire.

SECTION I. Force of Alexander's Army. Natural and political circumstances of India westward of the Ganges. March

into India, and Conquests there: Grecian Colony established in India: Indian cattle sent to Greece . . p. 160.

Section II. War with the Assakene Indians. Indian mercenary Troops. Questionable deed of Alexander. Siege of Mount Aornos. Conquest carried to the River Indus, p. 173.

Section III. Fancies of the Greeks concerning the Expedition of Bacchus to India. Reddy submission of the City and Province of Nysa to Alexander, and Conquest as far as the River Indus completed p. 185.

Section IV. Circumstances of the Northern part of India beyond the Indus: Alliances formed by Alexander beyond the Indus, and War carried beyond the Hydaspes: The Dominion of Porus conquered: Grecian Colonies established on the Hydaspes p. 191.

Section V. Constitutions of Indian States: Subordinate Sovereinties: Free Cities: Trade on the Indus: War prosecuted by Alexander in India p. 204.

Section VI. Growing Extravagance of Alexander's Purposes. Discontent of the Army. Forced Concession to its Wishes. Arrangement for the conquered Indian Provinces p. 215.

CHAPTER LIV.

Alexander's Return from India.

Section I. Beginning return of the Army. Care of Colonies in Northern India. Antient Law of Nations. Eulogy of Alexander. War with the Mallians: Alexander dangerously wounded p. 226.

Section II. Alexander's Navigation of the Indian Rivers: Conquest of Southern Provinces: Division of the Army for the Return homeward: Establishment of a Naval Station in the Indus: Arrival at the Ocean: Establishment of a Naval Arsenal at the Western Mouth of the Indus p. 251.

Section III. Arrangement for the Return of the Army to Persia, and for exploring the means for Navigation between

India and the Persian Gulph. Difficulties of the proposed march; Colony settled near the Coast. Failure of ordered preparation. Sufferings in traversing the Desert p. 265.

CHAPTER LV.

Voyage of Nearchus.

Section I. Authority for the Narrative. Deficiency of means for the Undertaking. The Fleet to be employed. The Monsoon. Appointment of Officers. Foreseen difficulties of the Undertaking p. 281.

Section II. Published Narratives of the Voyage of Nearchus. Remarkable omissions in the extant Narrative. The Voyage begun during the adverse Monsoon: Delays in the River: Early and long delay on the shore of the Ocean. Arrival on the Coast of the Orite country . p. 292.

Section III. Slowness of the Fleet's progress. Supply to the Fleet from the Army. Inhabitants mentioned to have been seen: Passage along the Coast of the Fishbeaters: Supply obtained by faithless Violence: Town deserted on the Fleet's approach: Entrance of the Persian Gulph: Arrival at Harmoza in Carmania . . . p. 303.

Section IV. Occurrences at Harmoza: Journey of Nearchus to wait upon the King: Return to Harmoza . p. 324.

Section V. Procedure of the Fleet up the Persian Gulph p. 337.

CHAPTER LVI.

Transactions in the March from Carmania through Persia and Susiana. Measures for improvement of Territory and extension of Commerce. Affairs in Greece.

Section. I. March from Carmania to Parsagarda. Persia described. Spoliation of Cyrus's sepulcher at Parsagarda.

Delinquency of Officers in high authority. Rebellion obviated: Oppression punished p. 348.

SECTION II. Difficulties of Alexander for his Civil Government: His purpose to make, of his various Subjects, one People: Marriages of Greeks with Persians: Bounty to the Army p. 356.

SECTION III. Alexander's Voyage down the river Eulæus to the Persian Gulph, and up the Tigris to Opis. Corrections of Maladministration under the Persian Government. Mutiny of the Army: Renewed Loyalty of the Army, p. 367.

SECTION IV. Affairs in Greece p. 387.

CHAPTER LVII.

Transactions in the March through MEDIA to BABYLON. Farther Measures for improvement of Territory and extension of Commerce. Civil Regulation. Death of ALEXANDER.

SECTION I. March into Media: Amazons: Death of Hephæstion: War with the Cossees: Measures for exploring the Caspian Sea. March to Babylon . . p. 407.

SECTION II. Embassies from Greek Republics and foreln Nations. Measures for maritime discovery and extension of Commerce. Slavery among the Antients. Floods of the Mesopotamian Rivers, and works to profit from them. Regulation civil and military . . . p. 416.

SECTION III. Omens: History of an Indian Brahman: Respect for prognostics among the Antients p. 437.

SECTION IV. Sacrificial Feast for the Armament: Alexander's Illness and Death p. 445.

INDEX to the Eight Volumes p. 463.

THE

HISTORY

OF

GREECE.

CHAPTER XLIX.

ALEXANDER'S Third Campain in ASIA.

SECTION I.

Recruits for Alexander's Army. March from Egypt to Tyre. Question of a Third Embassy from Darius to Alexander. Embassies from Greece.

SECT. I.

WHILE Alexander wintered in Egypt a small reïnforcement for his army arrived; four hundred Grecian infantry, and five hundred Thracian horse. Arrian, l. 3. c. 6. Recruits from Europe seem thus always to have been reported by the historian generals from whom Arrian drew his account, but those, indubitably numerous, from the extensive Grecian establishments in Asia and Egypt are omitted: possibly, and even probably, because the historian generals avoided notice of them. In spring Alexander moved for Phenicia.

CHAP. XLIX.

Diodorus introduces here the embassy from Darius, reported by Arrian and Curtius to have reached Alexander at Tyre, before he moved for Egypt. Diodorus undertakes for chronology, yet often marks it but uncertainly, and sometimes relates facts clearly out of season. Arrian, far less generally attentive to mark times and seasons than might be desired, nevertheless so holds his narrative in direct course, that strong proof only can warrant a modern writer to controvert his course; and, much as the florid, licentious, and sometimes petulant style of Curtius differs from the dignified simplicity, in which Arrian, at a late age, has emulated the earliest and best Greek writers, yet his account of the embassies from Darius clearly shows that he has drawn from the same authorities as Arrian. Nevertheless it may seem not preposterous to suppose that Diodorus may have had some foundation for the report of an embassy meeting Alexander on his return from Egypt, of which the other writers omitted notice. The purpose of such a mission might be to refute whatever may have appeared erroneous in Alexander's angry answers to former communications; to apologize for whatever might have given offence; yet to state that Darius was now prepared with powerful means to resist and even revenge any further attempt against his remaining still very large dominion; and, moreover that, tho powerful by the force actually under his orders, defended by barriers not easily to be passed, and, as Alexander knew, having zealous allies, reddy for opportunities in Greece itself, yet, that for the sake of peace, and to recover his wife and children, Alexander's prisoners, he was willing to abandon all claim on the extent of rich country, alreddy conquered from

him, and to pay even a greater ransom than before was offered. SECT. I.

But still farther considerations might have incouraged to renew the attempt to negotiate with an enemy not known of immoderate views. With Alexander's European empire his conquests in Asia, thus once, at least, according to all accounts, offered to be confirmed to him by treaty, comprized almost all the best provinces of the modern Turkish empire, and, through the circumstances of antient navigation, gave him the command of all the neighboring seas; for Carthage, mistress of the western part of the Mediterranean, could no longer, since the loss of the Phenician ports, contend with him in the eastern. This dominion, with just improvement, might perhaps have been rendered richer, and more effectually powerful, than the most extensive ever yet known on earth. Nor were a disposition to promote the welfare of mankind, or great and just views for it, wanting in Alexander: they had alreddy been largely shown, especially in his recent measures in Egypt. But Providence had other purposes. Magnanimous, liberal and judicious as his conduct generally had been, yet the greatness of his successes was alreddy more than even his strong mind, chastened by his excellent education, could, at his yet early years, hardly yet twenty-five, completely bear. With his acquisitions, and his dangerous adventures, his passion, both for acquisition and for dangerous adventure, rose.

Negotiation therefore, if again attempted, again failing, Alexander proceeded to Tyre, the place appointed for the meeting of army, fleet, and embassies. There the Athenian sacred ship Paralus arrived, bringing Diophantus and Achilles, ministers from the Athenian people, accompanied by

CHAP. XLIX.

ministers from several other republics. All came commissioned to represent that, in the absence of the captain-general of the nation, the repose of Greece was threatened by the ambition of Agis king of Lacedæmon; and that alreddy it had been declared to some Peloponnesian states, that, unless they would renounce the general confederacy under the king of Macedonia, and ingage in a league adverse to it, they would be treated as enemies. Against this therefore support was solicited and claimed.

Such a representation might have induced a leader of more sober prudence, and less eager in pursuit of a favorite purpose, to forego or suspend the proposed expedition beyond the great desert. But it was accompanied with information of a recent event at Athens affording incouragement. Alexander's arrogant refusal of treaty would stimulate Darius's diligence in measures for resistance, and, among others, in the endevor to procure a diversion in his favor by exciting war in Greece. A more particular account were highly desirable; but what remains from Æschines, uncontradicted by his opponent, is still a very curious document, marking the character of the Athenian democracy of the day. Orators it appears were found who did not scruple to propose to the Athenian people their acceptance of three hundred talents, about sixty thousand pounds sterling, as a present from the king of Persia. This sum may appear small as a bribe to the whole population of one of the most powerful states of Greece, the formerly imperial Athens. But, before the introduction of paper-credit, bribing more largely was less reddily to be managed; and it is to be recollected that in no remaining account the Athenian citizens, qualified

Æsch. de cor. p.633. ad Reiske.

Ch. 5. s. 4. of this History.

SECT. I.

to vote in the general assembly, have been reckoned more than twenty-one thousand; so that sixty thousand pounds might have paid a clear majority, even had all attended, five pounds each. Accordingly Æschines evidently has thought the sum not unfit to be mentioned to the assembled Athenians as calculated to be equal to its object. But the influence of the Macedonian party prevailed, and the disgraceful proposal was rejected.

This decision of the Athenian Many, under the lead, it seems probable, of Phocion, was, in the moment, of great importance. Alexander, powerful now at sea, beyond competition, confident in the ability of his vice-gerent, Antipater, in Macedonia, and assured of the adherence of Athens to ingagements with him, satisfied himself with ordering a hundred ships of the navies of Phenicia and Cyprus to join his Grecian fleet, under the command of his admiral Amphoterus, in the Ægean. Thus also, it appears, he satisfied all the embassies. Arrian and Curtius concur in saying that, as the former embassies, so these obtained all they were commissioned to desire; the wise policy of their constituents, the Macedonian party in the several republics, not pressing for anything beyond what the liberality of their elected chief might properly grant[1]. In favor of the Athenians, Alexander added, apparently unasked, what he had before refused. The Macedonian party, in Athens, it is likely, would be less anxious than the Persian, to obtain the release of the Athenian citizens, made prisoners at the battle of the Granicus; and, even if desiring, they would be more scrupulous of urging

[1] Ἔτυχον ὧν ἕνεκα ἐξάλησαν——Arr. l. 3. c. 5. Omnes, æqua desiderare visi, impetraverunt.—Curt. l. 4. c. 8.

CHAP. XLIX.

it. Now freely giving, it may perhaps, notwithstanding the common illiberality of party-spirit, have won for Alexander the gratitude of some generous minds in Athens.

About the same time his magnanimously liberal and forgiving temper was manifested in another, and perhaps yet stronger instance, apparently clear of all instigation of policy. Harpalus son of Machatas, one of his early friends, having incurred the king his father's displeasure, had withdrawn from Macedonia. After Philip's death he returned on Alexander's invitation, and passed with him into Asia. Among those with whom he was most intimate was Tauriscus, a young man whose talents might recommend him, but of conduct highly exceptionable. A little before the battle of Issus, for some misbehavior, it became necessary or expedient for him to abscond; and Harpalus was induced to go with him. Tauriscus managed to gain reception into the service of Alexander king of Epirus, the king of Macedonia's cousin and brother-in-law, then making war in Italy; but he soon died there. Harpalus had taken his residence at Megara; a circumstance among many proving that the Grecian republics were free; that no arbitrary authority of the king of Macedonia, the elected stateholder and military leader of the nation, interfered to the injury of the just civil authority of the several states. The king of Macedonia, apparently satisfied that Harpalus had been misled by Tauriscus, from whom now there was no longer either ill advice or ill example to apprehend, sent him assurance which induced him to repair to Tyre. Simply to forgive, however, was not the measure of Alexander's kindness. Harpalus being of a constitution ill adapted to the fatigues of

Arr. l. 3. c. 6.

military service, a civil situation, was provided for him. Cœranus of Berrœa and Philoxenus had been joint treasurers, attending the king's person with the military chest. Here again, it may deserve notice a Macedonian in high office is distinguished by his town. Cœranus was now appointed receiver-general of Phenicia, Philoxenus of Asia within Taurus, and the office of Treasurer attending the king's person was intrusted to Harpalus alone. SECT. I.

Hardly however all, whom Alexander's now powerful favor, with whatever acuteness of discrimination, raised to great situations, would have minds to bear their fortune. Arimmas, whom he had appointed to the satrapy of Syria, important not only for the extent and wealth of the country, but also for its situation on the border against the still powerful enemy, had so shown either a dangerous ambition, or an offensive vanity, that it was thought proper to remove him, and Asclepiodorus, son of Eunicus, was appointed in his room. The satrapy of Lydia, which, on the first conquest of that country, had been committed to Asander son of Philotas, in whatever way now becoming vacant, was given to Menander, one of the order of companions, actually commander-in-chief of the auxiliary Greeks[2]. To the high command which, by this promotion he quitted, Clearchus was appointed. The general in chief of the bowmen, Antiochus, died. Ombrion, a Cretan, was appointed in his room. The historian's notice of these and other promotions in the army, and in the financial department for the conquered countries, little interesting in the detail for the modern reader, is yet altogether valuable, as it marks Arrian, l. 3. c. 6.

[2] Συμμάχους τοὺς πεζούς.—Arrian, l. 3. c. 5. p. 110.

CHAP. XLIX.

the care with which the particulars of Alexander's administration were recorded by cotemporaries, and the interest with which they were observed by following writers.

SECTION II.

March from Tyre across Syria: Passage of the Euphrates: March across Mesopotamia: Passage of the Tigris. Station of Darius's Army at Gaugamela near Arbela. Forces of the Armies.

Arrian, l. 3. c. 7.

ARRANGEMENTS being completed both for the security of the friendly among the Grecian republics, and for the administration of the extensive countries conquered, Alexander ventured upon the movement with his army, in various views highly hazardous, to which his passion for conquest in the region celebrated for earliest empire, and the most extensive and wealthy known in the world, led him. He arrived at Thapsacus, where the younger Cyrus had crossed the Euphrates, in the Attic month Hecatombæon, in the archonship of Aristophanes at Athens, so Arrian marks the date, being about the end of May or beginning of June of the three hundred and thirty-first year before the Christian era. The bridges he found broken, and a body of about four thousand Persian horse, and two thousand Grecian foot, on the opposite bank, commanded by an eminent Persian, Mazæus[3]. This body however presently withdrew. The bridges were then in all quiet repaired, and that

B.C.331. Ol.112.1.

[3] That this is the description of the body under Mazæus, intended by Arrian, I have been led to believe by a judicious note of Gronovius on the passage.

great barrier the Euphrates, was, with no opposition, crossed[4]. It had been Alexander's declared purpose to proceed directly to Babylon, the rich head of the empire, looked to as the inexhaustible fountain of rewards for the labors and dangers in which his army was ingaged, and supposed the object, beyond all others, for the enemy to defend.

The difficulties of the shortest road from Thapsacus to Babylon, even when no enemy gave interruption, are marked, as we have formerly seen, in Xenophon's account of the expedition of the younger Cyrus. That account and others would be before Alexander and his council. A way considerably more circuitous, eastward across the north of Mesopotamia, and then southward on the eastern side, was therefore resolved upon. There water and forage would less fail, and the heat of the air was commonly less injuriously violent.

In this course Alexander had not proceeded far, when his advanced guard made some prisoners, from a body of the enemy employed to observe his motions. From these information was gained, that Darius, abandoning Mesopotamia, had taken a strong position on the eastern side of the Tigris; and it was added, that his army there was considerably superior to that with which he had suffered defeat in Cilicia. A council of war was called; and, in result of its deliberation, the resolution prevailed, most consonant to Alexander's repeated

[4] Diodorus here has either followed an ignorant guide, or, undertaking to abridge greatly what he ill understood, has given a grossly defective account; as the reader, observing it only with the most ordinary map before him, will at once see. Tho a little before he mentions both the Euphrates and the Tigris, he here forgets the former. A story follows about Alexander oversleeping, ineptly introduced, yet possibly not unfounded on fact.

CHAP. XLIX.

declaration, and, tho seemingly the boldest, perhaps reälly the safest, postponing the march to Babylon, to proceed immediately against Darius.

Before Darius ascended the throne, his course of life gave him advantages for the arduous contest he had to maintain, which a prince, bred wholly in a Persian court, could not have possessed. Practised in the command of armies, tho wide of opportunity for experience of the Grecian discipline, nevertheless, in his preparation for the battle of Issus, he had shown that he was aware of the value of the Grecian discipline. Hence we may the rather admit the probable account of Diodorus, where Arrian fails us, that his defeat there was a lesson which he did not neglect. Assembling an army in Mesopotamia, while Alexander was in Egypt, he assiduously attended himself to bring his numerous forces, of various nations, and languages, and customs, and weapons, and art of war, to act in some reasonable concert. But he had more confidence in the attachment, as well as in the military character, of his northern subjects. Among them, in youth, he had acquired military fame, and among them, when the throne was hardly in his view, he had held a satrapy. There then, should Alexander, unallured by the rich meed, left apparently unguarded in the south, seek him, he might reasonably hope, with his cavalry, excellent in kind and very superior in number, in an open country, to be superior altogether; yet, in case of an unfortunate event, the mountains were at hand for refuge, with a brave and, it might be hoped, a loyal people their inhabitants. But, should his enemy take the more obviously inviting and less immediately dangerous course southward, he might follow through the immense plains with his cavalry

Diod. l. 17. c. 53.

at secure distance, watch opportunities, annoy without exposing himself to danger of defeat, and in the end, as happened to the Roman army under Crassus, in the third century after, destroy him without a battle.

Nevertheless why no disturbance was given to Alexander's army in crossing the Euphrates, none in the extent of the Mesopotamian plain between that great river and the Tigris, and, when that second great obstacle was reached, at the place indicated as the station of the Persian king's army, why no obstruction was provided there, information fails. This however may be observed, that the Parthians, when they destroyed Crassus, had been for more than two centuries, in constant contact, and frequent wars, with the armies of the Greek princes of Syria; an advantage for the contest to come, of which the northern subjects of Darius wholly failed. The Tigris at that place and in that season not denying a ford, and no enemy interrupting, yet the rapidity of the stream, with its depth, made the passage troublesome and hazardous. The Assyrian bank nevertheless, under the able management of Alexander's army, was gained without loss of lives. Rest then was allowed for some days, to prepare for new fatigue; delay being also apparently necessary toward obtaining information where the hostile army was. In the interval happened an eclipse of the moon, nearly total. The solicitude which this phenomenon never failed to excite among the Greeks, as a mysterious indication of the purposes of the gods toward men, required attention. Sacrifices therefore were offered to the moon, the sun, and the earth, as deities through whose agency eclipses

Arr. l. 3. c. 7.

CHAP. XLIX.

happen; and the judicious seer, Aristander of Telmissus, declared that the phenomenon foretold a battle, to be fought within the running month, and that it concurred with the indications of the victims in assuring that Alexander's army would be victorious.

The soldier's mind being thus not only set at ease, but filled with hope, Alexander resumed his march. Darius's purpose, when he had ascertained his enemy's determination to avoid the allurement of Babylon, Susa, and the riches of the southern provinces, appears to have been to weary him by a circuitous march, avoiding a battle. And Alexander was thus effectually put to difficulty: very doubtfully informed where Darius was, he directed his way down the course of the Tigris, with that river on his right, and the Sogdian mountains on his left.

Having proceeded thus three days, in uncertainty, on the fourth he had information from his advanced party, that they had seen a body of the enemy's horse. Assurance presently following that it was only a detachment of not more than a thousand, he himself, with two bodies of his best mounted cavalry, the royal horse, and the companions, proceeded against them. The Persians, whose orders probably were to observe, and not to fight, presently retreated; but, Alexander pursuing, (his opportunities having been great, through his command of Palestine and Egypt, to procure horses of the race always esteemed the finest in the world) a few overtaken were killed, and also a few were made prisoners. From these intelligence was gained that Darius, with his whole force, occupied a strong camp, at the distance of but a few miles.

Arrian, l. 3. c. 8.

SECT. II.

Upon this Alexander halted. Chusing then an advantageous spot, he surrounded it with a rampart and ditch, as a depositary for his baggage and sick, and of retreat for his forces in any adverse circumstances. In this work, and in preparation for battle by rest and otherwise, he employed four days.

Arrian, l. 3. c. 9.

We want assurance of the numbers, now on either side preparing to contend for the empire of the civilized world. An official return of the Persian force is said by Arrian, on the authority of Aristobulus, to have come into Alexander's hands; stating the nations or provinces which furnished the men, and in some instances distinguishing horse from foot; but that it gave numbers does not appear. On what authority therefore Arrian has undertaken to state the totals of the several arms, we want to know; and what error in transcription of his work may have made the infantry, far beyond all other accounts, a million, must be left for conjecture. The horse are said to have been forty thousand, sithebearing chariots two hundred, elephants only fifteen; numbers all clearly within probability. The Grecian infantry that retreated from the Euphrates under Mazæus are mentioned to have been two thousand. What more may have been still in the Persian king's service is nowhere distinctly said. But if the infantry altogether were a hundred thousand, the proportion would be nearer to what experience on former occasions would lead the Persian king or his generals to desire to assemble, even nearer to what we find previously ordinary in Persian armies, and perhaps nearer to what Arrian himself meant to report[5].

[5] If the historian wrote the words at length, δέκα μυριάδας, ten myriads, or a hundred thousand, and the transcriber,

CHAP. XLIX.

But whatever myriads of Asiatics, with missile weapons, may be supposed to have attended, it is evident, from the historian's account of the following battle, that the king and his principal officers, reckoned the horse, the chariots, the elephants, and among the infantry, almost only the small body of Greeks, as the strength of their army[6].

It is observable then that Arrian, with the caution so usual with him, which stamps authority on his more positive assertions, has avoided to undertake for exactness in giving the numbers even of the king of Macedonia's army, which he says consisted of about forty thousand foot, and seven thousand horse. Possibly the Macedonian generals, from whom he drew his narrative, lessened the Macedonian force while they magnified the Persian; but we are not furnished with ground for any precise conjecture on the subject. If to the accounts of his losses, since he entered Asia, we add those of recruits joining him from Greece, they will hardly make his Europeän force so great. But, for raising men among the Grecian settlements in Asia and Egypt, his opportunities, as before observed, were large; and his own letter, formerly noticed, to Darius from Tyre, may seem to advert to the service in his army of others, beside Greeks, who were become his subjects. Indeed we have seen it of old usual to admit such among Grecian mercenaries, whence they obtained military estimation as

ἑκατον, μυριάδας, a hundred myriads, or a million, the addition and alteration would be less than is often found to have been made in Grecian manuscripts. If, on the other hand, numeral letters were used, a blot near the top of I, meaning ten, might lead the transcriber, to suppose it P, meaning a hundred.

[6] Thus, according to Curtius (who among his theätrical matter has some good historical observations) at the battle of Issus, *Darius equestri proelio decernere optabat.* l. 3. c. 11.

Greeks. That the force of every description, attending him, was in the highest state of Grecian discipline, is little to be doubted. It would then be improved for contest with Asiatic armies by practice against Asiatic armies, and perhaps strengthened by whatever useful in Asiatic practice, whether of the cavalry, or of the light-armed service, could be gained through the conquests made.

Had the composition and temper and discipline of Darius's army been such that he could have completely chosen his measures, the sequel seems enough to show, not only that he had done judiciously in hitherto avoiding a battle, but that, persevering in that course, he would probably have ruined Alexander. But for such perseverance difficulties would remain, such as those which disturbed his purpose of waiting for Alexander in Syria, before the battle of Issus. Finding it therefore necessary at length to hazard a battle, which he had hitherto, probably with just judgement, avoided, he deposited his heavy baggage and his military chest in the fortified city of Arbela; and he chose the station where to wait the enemy about six miles off, at Gaugamela, on the river Bumadus, which runs into the Tigris. The country around, open, with gentle undulations of surface, was advantageous for the action of his cavalry, on which he principally depended. But he hoped also for great effect from his sithebearing chariots; and, to give this kind of artillery its best opportunity, numerous hands were employed to remove, to a great extent, any of those smaller inequalities of surface which might impede it. Thus prepared, waiting for the enemy, he avoided all attempt to disturb his measures on the ground which he had taken, only about seven miles off.

SECTION III.

Battle of Gaugamela, commonly called of Arbela.

CHAP. XLIX.

Arr. l. 3. c. 9.

ALEXANDER, on the fifth night after reaching his station, called to arms about the second watch, near midnight, and marched immediately, with the purpose of attacking the enemy at daybreak. Nearly midway some hills of moderate height had prevented the view of either camp from the other. On his arrival there, unmolested, having a full view of the Persian station, he saw marks of recent handy-work, to a great extent. The military historian does not account for the failure of previous observation, but proceeds to say that, unaware of the enemy's object for sithed chariots, what are called, in modern military phrase, wolf-holes, concealed excavations, prepared with pointed stakes, to disturb the approach of any troops, but especially of cavalry, were apprehended. On this the army was halted, and a council of war was called. Such then was the improvident ardor among Alexander's young officers, that a majority, in contempt of the enemy, recommended attack without delay; but, Parmenio advising previous investigation, Alexander's intuitive mind repressed his own ardor, which was inferior to none, and, the ground being very advantageous, he incamped on it in order of battle.

It was not in the practice of the Persians, as of the Greeks, to fortify their camps[7], and their management of their cavalry, as we have seen formerly in Xenophon's account, assisted to make

[7] Οὔτε στρατόπεδον αὐτοῖς περιβέβληλο ἀχριβές.——Arrian, l. 3, c. 11.

SECT. III.

nightly assault formidable. Among their labors, now, to prepare for action without their camp, little had been done to provide security within. Such therefore was the apprehension excited by the view of Alexander's army, occupying the heights only three miles off, that the troops were formed in order of battle in the evening, and kept under arms all night. A written statement of that order, according to Aristobulus, came after the battle, into Alexander's hands. The extreme of the left was held by the Bactrian, Daan, and Arachosian horse. The forces of Persia proper followed, foot and horse intermingled. The Susian and Cardusian troops then completed that wing. The center, immediately commanded by Darius, composed of Indians, emigrant Carians, perhaps having the Grecian discipline, Mardians, who were bowmen, Uxians, Babylonians and Arabians, was formed in very deep order. Directly about the king's person were two bodies of royal guards; one styled the king's kinsmen, the other the Melophor Persians[8]; and on the flanks of these the Greek mercenaries. The elephants, and fifty sithed chariots, were in front of the center; a hundred chariots, supported by the Scythian horse, were in front of the left, and fifty chariots, with Armenian and Cappadocian horse, in front of the right.

Xen. Cyr. Anab. l. 5. c. 4. s. 21. Ch. 23. s. 4. of this History. Arrian, l. 3. c. 11.

Alexander, with numbers insufficient for meeting the whole Persian line, and therefore liable to have his flanks turned, and perhaps his rear, resolved upon the mode of action of which, as far as history

[8] The body of Persians called by the Greeks Μηλοφόροι, applebearers, or orangebearers, are said to have been spearmen, at the hand-end of whose spears, or lances, apparently for balance, was a gilt ball; for which Wesseling's note 64 to the 59th chapter of Diodorus's 17th book, and the authorities there indicated, may be consulted.

CHAP. XLIX.

shows, Epameinondas seems to have given, in the battle of Leuctra, the first example for antient and for modern times; directing a superior force against a particular point of the hostile army, and avoiding, as far as might be, to meet the rest. With this view he advanced in two equal lines, so arranged that, should the enemy, far outnumbering him in cavalry, gain his flank or rear, the whole might reddily form a hollow square. In this order, first so in direction toward the Persian center as to be outflanked each way, he took, as he proceeded, an oblique direction toward the right. The Persians, observing this, inclined to the left, to obviate his apparent purpose of gaining their flank. Alexander however had almost reached the extreme of the ground which they had levelled for the operation of their chariots, when his cavalry and Darius's Scythian horse were nearly meeting. The apprehension of the Persian generals then was that, by further progress in that course, he would render their chariots useless, and therefore the Scythian, with a part of the Bactrian horse, were ordered immediately to charge. Alexander hastened forward the Grecian mercenary cavalry under Menidas, to meet them, and thus the action began. The Greeks were nearly yielding before superior numbers, when Alexander ordered Aretas, with the Pæonian cavalry, and that of the Greek confederacy[9], to their support; and then the enemy were compelled to give way. But the rest of the Bactrians advancing on the other side, and the Scythians, both men and horses, being superiorly provided with defensive armor, Alexander's troops were again pressed, and the action was for some

Arrian, l. 3. c. 13.

[9] Τοὺς ξένους.

time doubtful. The superior discipline however of the Greeks, charging in regular order those who held no line, gave them at length a clear superiority, and the enemy fled. SECT. III.

During this contest the Persian sithebearing chariots were advanced against that part of the Grecian line where Alexander himself had his station. It had been foreseen that the shock of that kind of artillery upon the phalanx might be formidable. To weaken the effect therefore a body of light-armed was advanced, who, with a shower of missile weapons, wounding drivers and horses in their approach, disturbed the order necessary to their efficacy; while active men, unincumbered with the panoply, easily avoiding the line of the chariots, hung upon their flanks, and some even approached so as to seize the reins and turn their course. Thus the proposed simultaneous charge of the whole body of the chariots was so obviated, that, for those which could hold the proposed course, it was not difficult to open and let them, with little injury, through to the rear. All, so passing, were taken.

This point gained appears to have afforded important relief to Alexander's army, among pressures from superior numbers, directed with considerable judgement, and supported with valor. The Persian main body followed the charge of the sithebearing chariots, expecting to meet in front the phalanx in disorder, while a powerful body of horse was endevoring to gain its right flank. The defeat however of the Bactrians and Scythians inabled Alexander to send Aretas, with the cavalry under him, against that body. The contest here again was severe. At length however the Persians were driven against their own infantry, so as to

CHAP. XLIX.

disturb that part of the line where Darius had his station. Alexander observed, and proceeded instantly to profit from this. Moving his phalanx to the left, he directed its attack in column against the disordered Persian ranks, which he charged at the same time with the horse immediately about him; and presently piercing and dividing the Persian line, he threw all into confusion. Flight became extensive; to restore order in that part was no longer possible; Darius, tho, according to those whom both Diodorus and Curtius followed, not till after personal exertions in the thickest of the action, nor till after his charioteer was killed[9], of necessity joined in retreat.

Diod. l. 17. c. 60. Q. Curt. l. 4. c. 15.

Alexander then, whether led more by his constant passion for the glory of personal valor, or instigated by the circumstances of the moment, and eagerness of desire to make the Persian king his prisoner, appears to have overlooked the first duty of a commander-in-chief for the purpose of executing that of an inferior officer. Instead of directing his attention to his left wing, which he had weakened to make his successful impression on the right, he pressed pursuit of the defeated part of the Persian line, with the cavalry about him, and directed the whole phalanx of his right to follow. Meanwhile, how far under direction from Darius himself, who according to both Diodorus and Curtius, excelled in military skill as well as in valor, must remain uncertain, the enemy's right wing, commanded immediately by Mazæus, had profited from

[9] Diodorus says by a javelin from the hand of Alexander himself. Had this been in any degree ascertained, it would hardly have failed of notice from Arrian. Curtius gives it to an unknown hand. Both say it was supposed by those around that Darius himself was killed, and thence the flight of the Persians that followed.

Alexander's fault. Parmenio, with two lines in phalanx, was unable to withstand the great body of horse, charging, as seems to have been the Persian way, in column. They did not indeed rout, but they broke through both his lines. Not stopping then to complete their success, as if it was alreddy certain, in their habitual passion for plunder, they proceeded to the camp, which was within view. It was so out of contemplation, says Arrian, that any cavalry could break through two lines in phalanx, that the orderly retreat of that body, in case of failure of victory, was depended upon for the security of the camp. The small guard therefore being surprized, was presently overpowered; Persian prisoners, probably not numerous, being released, joined their victorious cavalry in slaughter and plunder. Meanwhile another body of the enemy's horse gaining Parmenio's left, prevented his detaching any assistance to the camp: so that, threatened on all sides, he with difficulty maintained his ground.

SECT. III.

Ch. 24. s. 3. of this History.

Information of these circumstances, sent after Alexander, who was far advanced in pursuit of Darius, first reached Simmias, commander of a large body of the phalanx following him. That officer judged it so important, that, without waiting for orders, he halted his division, while the messenger hastened after the king. Alexander, tho with extreme regret, did not hesitate about the measure which prudence imperiously required. Returning, with the utmost speed, to relieve the laboring part of his army, on arriving he charged the Persian cavalry, which was hanging on Parmenio's left. A contest singularly vehement insued. Sixty of the body, called the companions, immediately attending Alexander, were killed: Hephæstion, Cœnus,

CHAP. XLIX.

Menidas, generals of high rank, were wounded. Grecian discipline however at length prevailed against the valor of numbers less ably combined, and the Persians, once compelled to give way, took to precipitate flight. Meanwhile Parmenio, relieved from the pressure on his flank, could use his Thessalian cavalry against the enemy in front, and at the same time detach a part of his second line, which presently overpowered the Persians, tumultuously plundering the camp. Alexander, after having defeated the enemy's cavalry, came to his support; but, through the exertions especially of the Thessalian horse, who earned the highest credit, the victory was alreddy complete.

The indefatigable prince then, directing Parmenio to proceed to take possession of the Persian camp, resumed himself the pursuit of his royal foe. Reaching the river Lycus, itself no small obstacle, supervening night made farther effort hopeless, even had those under him been equal to farther effort. The horses he rode had been relieved by relays; many of the horses of those attending him, it is said, had alreddy died of fatigue. Thus necessitated he returned to his camp. On arriving he directed that his army should have repose; but he allowed himself little. Moving again at midnight, with a chosen body of cavalry, he reached Arbela so unexpectedly that he became master of the town, apparently without resistance, and found in it, yet unmoved, all the valuables deposited there; among which a chariot, shield, and bow of the Persian king, the second of each sort the fruits of his victories, were especially noticed.

Such, according to Arrian's probable and mostly perspicuous account, drawn, as he professes, from

SECT. III.

the narratives of general officers present, was the battle, fought near Gaugamela, but commonly called of Arbela, which decided the fate of the Persian empire. In reporting numbers slain, that historian however, is, against his custom, extravagant; he says only one hundred men were killed on the Grecian side, and on the Persian three hundred thousand; adding, that the prisoners were still much more numerous. Here however, as on former occasions, it is necessary to recollect how liable numbers are to be altered in transcription; and error may the rather be suspected as, of the other antient writers of Alexander's history, tho generally given to extravagance, none has approached that found in our copies of Arrian's work. But supposing those copies should be trusted for accuracy in numerical notation, yet his care continually demonstrated to follow the best authorities, being considered, his report can only be valuable as an eminent example of the antiquity of the trick of governments to give their warrant to false accounts, exaggerating an enemy's loss in battle, and lessening their own; least practicable in ours, where a vigilant party is always reddy to detect and expose any attempt at such fraud, and rather to mislead public belief in the contrary direction. Nevertheless that the destruction on the Persian side was great, is clearly probable. But that the loss of the victors also was severe may, against Arrian's enumeration, be gathered from his narrative. In an action fully acknowleged to have been strongly contested, and even long of doubtful issue, it could not be otherwise; and the admission that the cavalry of the royal companions alone lost five hundred horses, tho some are said to have died of fatigue in the pursuit, would suffice

Arrian, l. 3. c. 15.

CHAP. XLIX.

for assurance that the slain altogether were numerous.

Arrian we may believe followed his usual guides, the Macedonian generals, in his account of the conduct of the Persian king; but what their knowlege of it was may be questionable; and policy might lead them to adopt the most unfavorable among various, and apparently all uncertain reports. He says that Darius, immediately on Alexander's charging the part of his line where he had his station, so yielded to fear as to be among the first to set the example of flight. It is creditable for the Grecian character that other Grecian accounts remain transmitted. Diodorus, not usually an inventor, attributes to Darius the first praise of that courage and conduct on the Persian side, which, even in Arrian's report, long balanced the battle. Curtius, nearly concurring, farther gives him credit for generous and magnanimious conduct, even in his flight; of which one circumstance, necessarily of some publicity, may, even on his authority, deserve notice. Having put the river Lycus between himself and the pursuing enemy, it was proposed, by some about him, immediately to destroy the bridge by which he had passed. But he forbad; observing that thousands of his subjects, who had been ingaged in the chance of war with him, might want that bridge; and he would not, for his individual safety, deprive them of a chance for safety[10]. All ac-

Diod. l. 17. c. 58. 60. & 61.

Q. Curt. l. 4. c. 16.

[10] Curtius's narrative so frequently corresponds with Arrian's, and especially his account of the more important circumstances of this great battle, that it cannot be doubted but Arrian's authorities were before him. That he has used them in so different a way is to be regretted; upon a foundation so valuable raising a superstructure not without value, but so disguised with flowery ornament, romantic tales, and scenic dialogue,

counts indicate that, before Alexander arrived, the bridge was rendered impassable. SECT. III.

We have had more than one occasion to observe that an Asiatic army defeated, commonly dispersed, so that, for a time, it nearly ceased to exist as an army. Of Darius's forces the Greeks alone, unless also the cavalry immediately attending him, seem to have preserved order in retreat. Reports were various of the course which he immediately took in his flight, and perhaps none exactly true; for it seems likely that, at first, some concealment was advisable, and even necessary. His plans however were not so defective but that misfortune was in some degree provided for. Estimating, according to appearance, justly, the deficiency of his means to defend the rich and open southern provinces, with a population of little loyalty, he directed his course toward Media; and, when it was ascertained that the enemy had taken the contrary course, so that communication northward was clear- Diod. l. 17. c. 61.

that it is rarely possible to estimate his testimony for any fact without some corroborating evidence. Hence whether his lively description of the miseries of the defeated, in their flight from the field of Gaugamela, tho probable enough, be derived from any just authority, or is only a fanciful emulation of Thucydides's fine picture of the flight of the Athenian army under Nicias and Demosthenes from Syracuse, may be questioned. Like the poet, he undertakes to know everything. Not contented with giving, like Livy and so many other antient writers, the speeches of generals to their armies before battle, he answers for their words, their looks, and their passions, what they knew and what they felt in the midst of the hottest action. Through this licence indeed he offers some scenes admirably suited to either the stage or the easel. Thus his work seems to have been adapted to the taste of a refined and luxurious age, when the despotism of the Roman empire denied to the public all interference in public concerns, so that minds, even the most capable of public business, and the most disposed to it, must find content, as they best might, in idle amusement.

CHAP. XLIX.

ly free, he collected some of his dispersed cavalry. Before long then he was joined by relics of his Grecian infantry, to the number of about two thousand, with Paron of Phocis and Glaucon of Ætolia, their commanders. The severity exercised toward those Greeks, who at the Granicus and at Issus had fought against the army of the Grecian confederacy, would be admonition for these to remain true to their ingagement for the Persian service.

SECTION IV.

Alexander's March to Babylon, Susa, and Pasargadæ or Persepolis.

Ch. 45. s. 4. of this History.

We have seen the generally generous policy of the Persians, toward conquered people, failing in Egypt, through an overweening contempt of those superstitions which held the strongest sway in Egyptian minds. Their honest pride of their purer religion, becoming evil by excess, had also revolted the Babylonians. The destruction of the temples of Babylonian worship, among which that of Belus, or Baal, was supereminent, is attributed to Xerxes. How far anything, either in Babylonian or Egyptian superstition, adverse to the Persian government, might justify restraint, or urge to severities, remaining history will not inable us to judge. The Babylonians however were prepared, nearly as the Egyptians, to rejoice in passing under a new dominion. This was not likely to be a secret to either of the contending princes; and while it assisted to determine the retreat of Darius northward, would strengthen the otherwise powerful

Arr. l. 3. c. 16.

Arr. l. 3. c. 16. Diod. l. 17. c. 64. Q. Curt.

inducement for Alexander to go southward. Accordingly abandoning for the present, what had been the first object of his keen mind, the pursuit of the defeated monarch, he hastened, in the opposite direction, to take possession of the rich prize waiting for his grasp.

Nothing opposed his march to Babylon. Mazæus, with all he could keep together of the large division of the Persian army which he had commanded at the recent battle, had retreated thither, and appears to have held the principal authority there. A garrison in the citadel was commanded by Bagophanes. Alexander expected resistance; but, as he approached, he was met by the whole population of the immense city unarmed, the nobles and priests leading a solemn procession, bearing presents, and declaring the surrender of the town, citadel, and treasury to his pleasure. Mazæus, it appears, promoted the measure; and Bagophanes, hopeless of support from his king, hastened, after the example, to earn the conqueror's favor. Alexander, courteous to all, took Mazæus into his confidence, and directed his policy to gain, among the Babylonians, that attachment which the conduct of the Persian government had repelled. Communicating with the Chaldæan chiefs of the Babylonian religion, he ordered the temples, which had lain in ruin from the time of Xerxes, to be restored under their direction, and he presided at a sacrifice to Belus, performed as they prescribed.

Arrian, l. 3. c. 16. Q. Curt. l. 5. c. 1.

We are unfurnished with ground for estimating how far the conduct of Mazæus was reproachable. His omission to obstruct the enemy's passage of the Euphrates may very possibly have been within orders. His conduct in the battle of Arbela has eulogy in all antient accounts. We must look to

CHAP. XLIX.

Ch. 24. s. 5. of this History.

the texture of the Persian empire, and to preceding circumstances, and to some following, for direction of judgement. Even in the earlier reign, with less irregular succession, of Artaxerxes Mnemon, we have seen the generous and upright satrap Pharnabazus openly avowing, that he reckoned himself bound in allegiance to the sovereign of the empire only as long as he injoyed his confidence and favor. Intelligence had now reached Alexander of circumstances in Armenia. Before the battle of Issus all Asia, westward of that country, had yielded to him. The event of that battle could not but affect the minds both of rulers and subjects there. Those dissatisfied, reasonably or otherwise, with the actual state of things, would look toward a revolution. The event of the battle of Arbela would augment and extend

Arrian, l. 3. c. 16.

that disposition. Hence, apparently, it was that Alexander sent, from Babylon, a satrap into Armenia; and, for the execution of that high and important office, he chose one who, whether a Persian or of whatever country under Persian dominion, had been a subject in high office under the Persian crown, Mithrines, to whom he had owed the reddy surrender of the citadel of Sardis; and it does not appear that any Greek was sent to check or share his authority. Mazæus had so recommended himself that the important dignity of satrap of Babylon was committed to him, but with civil authority only. The military command of the district was given to Apollodorus of Amphipolis, and the presidency of the revenue to Asclepiodorus son of Philon.

Curt. l. 5. c. 2.

It may deserve notice, then, on the authority of Curtius, tho unmentioned by Arrian, whose guides, the Macedonian generals, were likely to

SECT. IV.

avoid notice of it, that Apollodorus was directed to raise recruits for the army in Babylon and its territory. The wealth of that city and the extent of rich territory acquired with it, inabled Alexander, apparently with the revenue ordinarily paid to the former soverein, to reward those who had shared with him the labors and dangers of his expedition. He made a donation, according to Curtius, to each Macedonian horseman of about twenty-four pounds sterling, to every other horseman about twenty, and every foot soldier near ten.

Q. Curt. l. 5. c. 1.

A disposition, among the southern provinces, to disaffection toward the government of Darius, or rather toward the Persian dynasty altogether, marked in the occurrences at Babylon, seems yet more strongly marked in what followed at Susa. That city had been the principal seat of the Persian government; chosen for the convenience of its situation between Babylon, Ecbatana and Persepolis, the antient capitals of the Assyrian, Median and Persian kingdoms. It was the common winter residence of the court, which, on account of the heat there in summer, which Strabo mentions as extraordinary, generally moved for that season to Ecbatana. Communication from Susa had been such as to induce Alexander to send thither one of his generals, Philoxenus, without a military force, meerly as a negotiator. After no long stay in Babylon, proceeding himself with his army toward Susa, he was met by the son of the satrap, accompanied by a messenger from Philoxenus, with dispatches assuring him that the surrender of the city was reddy on his arrival, and with it that of the general treasury of the empire, containing valuables to the amount of fifty thousand talents,

Strab. l. 15. p. 1037. ed. Ox.

CHAP. XLIX.

about ten millions sterling. This came into Alexander's possession; and it was farther a gratifying circumstance of triumph, that in Susa was found the spoil that Xerxes had carried from various Grecian cities, to exhibit to his eastern subjects as testimonies of his conquests in the west. Among them the brazen statues of those celebrated tyrannicides, venerated by the Athenians as martyrs in the cause of liberty, Harmodius and Aristogeiton, were especially noticed. Alexander consulted his popularity and fame among the Greeks generally, as well as especially among the Athenians, at the same time confuting the slander of the demagogues who had been in the habit of qualifying his father and himself as tyrants, by sending these to Athens, as presents to the Athenian people. Placed by order of the soverein assembly in the square called Cerameicus, they remained there, as Arrian assures us, in his time, near five hundred years after.

At Susa Alexander displayed his generosity also in another way; for the concurrence of Diodorus with the Latin historian here apparently may be trusted for what Arrian, intent principally on military movements, tho no way contradicting, has omitted. The illustrious prisoners, the wife and family of Darius, who, in the long journey from Cilicia, had been always treated with the kindest respect, were now settled in the royal palace of Susa; probably the most grateful resting-place for them; and it would also probably be to their gratification that here, as at Babylon, the civil administration was committed to one of Alexander's new subjects, Abulites, a Persian. The military authority was reserved still to Greeks, and mostly Macedonians. Archelaus son of Theodorus

Diod. l. 17. c. 67. Q. Curt. l. 6.

Arrian, l. 3. c. 16. & Q. Curt. l. 5. c. 2.

SECT. IV.

was appointed commander-in-chief within the province of Susiana. The government of the citadel of Susa was committed to Mazarus, one of the band of companions. Menes was sent to take the extensive and critically situated viceroyship of Syria and Phenicia; whether superseding Asclepiodorus, who had superseded Arimmas when Alexander was leaving Tyre to march against Darius, or including his province within a wider command. Menes carried with him three thousand talents, about six hundred thousand pounds; part to supply Antipater, for the war threatened in Greece by Agis king of Lacedæmon, and the rest to raise recruits for the army in Asia.

Arrian, l. 3. c. 16.

s. 3. of this chap.

Alexander appears to have denied to the purer religion of Persia the respect with which he had studiously treated the Chaldean superstition, as well as the still grosser Egyptian. Yet we are not uninformed of what may have led to this. The Persians, with a misbecoming pride in their purer faith, for the principles of which perhaps Herodotus, confirmed as we find him by following writers, may be trusted, were disposed to be intolerant of all others; and not only had been severe against the Egyptian and Chaldean, but, till they had learnt to fear the Greeks, had even persecuted the Grecian. At Susa, instead of ceremonies in honor of the national religion, as at Memphis and Babylon, the historian reports only a magnificent sacrifice, according to the Grecian ritual, accompanied with Grecian gymnic games.

Ch. 6. s. 2. of this History.

A reïnforcement from Greece and the Grecian cities of Asia, which, tho Arrian has not specified the numbers (the Macedonian generals, his authorities, having apparently avoided to report such matters,) may perhaps reasonably be believed, on

Arrian, l. 3. c. 16.

CHAP. XLIX.

Diod. l. 17. c. 65. Curt. l. 5. c. 1.

the testimonies of Diodorus and Curtius, to have been the largest yet at any one time received. Those historians concur in reporting six thousand foot and five hundred horse from Macedonia, three thousand five hundred foot and six hundred horse from Thrace, and mercenary infantry from Peloponnesus four thousand; differing only concerning cavalry from Peloponnesus, which the former makes near a thousand, the other under four hundred. Thus however the foot would be thirteen thousand five hundred, and the horse, at the lowest account, near fifteen hundred. With this reïnforcement, according to the same writers, came fifty youths, of the first families of Macedonia, sent by their parents, with recommendation from Antipater, to be admitted among the king's page-guards. Amyntas son of Andromenes is named as the officer commanding this large reïnforcement, led to such a distance.

Master now of the greatest and far the richest part of the Persian empire, the bounds of Alexander's dominion were not very different from those of modern Turkey. But proper Persia, the native land of the great Cyrus, the rich kingdom of Media, and extensive provinces inhabited by a warlike race, northward of Media, yet acknowleged the sovereinty of the unfortunate Darius. The way to Persia was difficult, over rugged mountains, held by the Uxians; a people who, not only for ages had maintained themselves in independency of the great empire surrounding them, but, denying the payment of tribute, made that great empire in some degree tributary to them. In the capital of Persia, as in a place of the best sesurity in those times known, a very great treasure had been depo-

sited. Thus, for postponing the immediate pursuit of Darius, two important objects were offered; to deprive the enemy of the means which the treasury of Persia proper would afford for continuing the war, and to bring to just subjection a people who had been so permitted to disgrace an empire which he proposed to make his own. When the Persian government wanted passage for troops between Susiana and Persia proper, it had grown into custom to pay them for permission. Observing what is transmitted of the circumstances of Asia, and of the character of its various population, it cannot be doubted, but that, with this indignity, the Persian government had been accustomed to bear another, that of frequent depredations on its faithful subjects, unrevenged, or deficiently punished: for a people situated like the Uxians could, only by frequent predatory warfare, have the practice necessary toward their skill and renown in war. The Uxians, informed of Alexander's approach, with the purpose of marching across their country, sent a deputation, informing him of former custom, and demanding the payment usually received from the Persian court; intimating that; without it, any attempt to pass would be resisted. Alexander, without negotiation or threat, dismissed the mission with answer, 'that the Uxians might occupy with their forces 'the straits in their mountains, and there receive 'the demanded tribute.'

SECT. IV.

In passing the river and crossing the plain he found no opposition. Arrived at the mountains, he took upon himself the command of one select body, and committed that of another to his favorite general Craterus. With Susian guides, by a very rough and difficult road, in one day, he traversed the wild highlands, so as to reach some cultivated

CHAP. XLIX.

dales at night. The inhabitants, unprepared, were in numbers killed in their beds. Whether this was a just or a necessary severity, Arrian, like other antient writers, not always solicitous about such matters, has not at all shown. The booty, principally cattle (for these highlanders had not the use of money) was considerable; and probably an important acquisition for the supply of the army. Meanwhile Craterus, by another road, had reached the heights commanding the strait. So beyond expectation bold and rapid had been these measures that no guard was there. The Uxian chiefs supposing they might safely await the return of their deputation, had delayed for it the call upon their people to leave their homes; and Alexander joined Craterus at the narrow, before their forces arrived. Hastening at length, they got into a situation where they could neither fight nor withdraw. On the plain ground they could not contend with the Grecian heavy-armed; and the eminences, on which they had depended both for advantage in action and security in retreat, were in the enemy's possession. In the flight, which they presently attempted, many were killed: resistance they made hardly any. It may seem reasonable to hope it was for some offence, unnoticed by Arrian, that their extermination was threatened. Ptolemy, he says, related that the intercession of Sisygambis, mother of Darius, probably for some merit with her, of which also the historian has omitted notice, procured them allowance to retain their lands among their strong holds, paying a yearly tribute of one hundred horses, five hundred head of neat cattle, and thirty thousand sheep. In the deficiency of our information it may seem that the pride of extraordinary success, combined with the general care-

lessness of the Greeks for humanity toward barbarians, had now begun to overbear that generosity inherited from his magnanimous father, and cultivated by his great preceptor, which, in the earlier part of Alexander's brilliant course, appear on no occasion to have failed him[11]. SECT. IV.

But, in the way to Persia, there remained yet another highland pass, called by Diodorus the Susiad rocks, threatening greater difficulties. It was occupied by a powerful body, Arrian says forty thousand foot, with seven hundred horse, under the satrap Ariobarzanes, who had added to the natural strength of the ground by fortifications. Diodorus, perhaps from authorities more deserving of credit here than the generals ingaged, whom Arrian followed, states the force under Ariobarzanes at only twenty-five thousand foot and three hundred horse. Alexander, committing the main body of his army to his veteran general, Parmenio, again undertook himself the fatigues and dangers of a partizan. His chosen division consisted of all the Macedonian heavy-armed, the horse of the band of companions, and that of the fore-runners, (probably lighter horse) with the Agrians, his favorite middle-armed, and all the bowmen. A formed carriage-road led from the Uxian narrow to that called the Persian gate. By this road he directed Parmenio to march, taking with him all the heavy baggage of the army. With Arr. l. 3. c. 18. Diod. l. 17. c. 68.

[11] Plutarch, but in a most unsatisfactory manner, gives a degree of corroboration to the accounts of Alexander's cruelty here. With no narrative of circumstances, he refers to an extant letter of Alexander's, mentioning that he had ordered the execution of numerous prisoners, 'because he thought it 'for his interest.' But the Biographer, in his frequently careless way, so confounds the passage of the Uxian highlands with the capture of Persepolis, and the conquest of all Persia, that there is no knowing what prisoners he meant to say were so executed. Plut. v. Alex. p. 686.

CHAP. XLIX.

his own select body he hastened by a shorter highland way; and, reaching Ariobarzanes's lines, before Parmenio, he rested for the night. Next morning he proceeded to storm them. But they were so resolutely defended, and the satrap had so occupied the commanding heights, not only with bowmen and darters, but also with machines for the discharge of missile weapons, that, with the loss of many men, he was obliged at length to retire. Doubtful then about measures, he learnt by inquiry among his prisoners (according to Curtius from a son of a Greek by a Persian wife, speaking familiarly both languages) that there was a mountain path by which it might be possible to reach the pass, in the rear of the Persian army; but it was rugged and narrow[12]. Again then taking upon himself the command of greatest fatigue and danger, and marching by night with a chosen body, he left Craterus to command the camp; ordering him to watch for signals of the trumpets, which should indicate that he was arrived in the enemy's rear, and then immediately to assail the lines. In his way over the mountains, he detached Amyntas, Philotas, and Cœnus, toward the Persian plain, with orders to secure the passage of the river Araxes, which crossed the great road to the Persian capital, by throwing a bridge over it[13], while he, with a second selection of his before chosen troops, hastened, according to Arrian mostly running along the rug-

[12] Diodorus, 17, 68, says a Lycian, prisoner of war, long employed as a herdman among the mountains. Plutarch says the son of a Lycian by a Persian woman, and thence familiar with both the Greek and Persian languages.——Plut. Alex. p. 686.

[13] Arrian has not named the river or the city.

SECT. IV.

ged way, to the enemy's station[14]. Arriving before day at their first outpost, he put all to the sword. A second was also surprized so far that few escaped. A third, taking alarm, fled to the nearest heights, and no intelligence of Alexander's approach was carried to the Persian camp. About daybreak he arrived at it. The trumpets then sounded the appointed signal, and Craterus, duly prepared, presently attacked the lines. Such was the surprize that resistance was little attempted. Some fled from Alexander toward Craterus, and others from Craterus toward Alexander. Repulsed each way, those who avoided the sword sought the lines again, but were intercepted by Ptolemy; to whom Alexander, foreseeing the event, had assigned a station for the purpose, so that a large proportion of the army was destroyed. Ariobarzanes himself escaped with a few horse, with whom, however (for what Curtius directly says, even Arrian's account implies) he cut his way through the enemy.

It was apprehended that, as soon as the defeat of Ariobarzanes became known, the Persian king's officers in Persia proper, conscious of inability to withstand, yet not disposed, like those of Babylonia and Susiana, to court the conqueror, would, before they fled, plunder the royal treasury. According to Curtius, Alexander received intimation of their purpose from Tiridates, a principal officer of the treasury; whose ernestness to provide for Alexander's early arrival is mentioned by Arrian. The solicitude of the army, on such an occasion, would

Arrian, l. 3. c. 18. Diod. l. 17. c. 69.

[14] Αὐτός τε (ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος) προυχώρει νύκτωρ, καὶ διαλθὼν. κ. τ. ε. the stopping of Gronovius's edition, and the Latin translation of Vulcanius, which Gronovius adopts tho abusing it, are both bad here.

CHAP. XLIX.

not fail. By rapid march then he reached Pasargadæ, or Persagadæ (the capital of Persia proper, better known by the name, which seems to have been a Greek translation, Persepolis) where was the treasury of the great Cyrus, in time to prevent any meditated spoliation.

Plut. Alex.

We have observed in the transactions at Susa, some indication of a disposition in Alexander hostile towards the proper Persians more than toward any other subjects of the Persian empire. During his stay at Persepolis an instance of it occurred, highly uncreditable, even in the succinct report of Arrian, and affording ground for exaggerated stories adapted to romance and the theater, which has been eagerly seized by other writers, especially the ingenious Curtius. Our fellow-countryman Dryden, in his exquisite ode on the subject, perhaps relates the matter as fairly as any other writer, except Plutarch, his principal guide, who here has been intent on just inquiry; always highly valuable where he has been so. The circumstances, he says, were very variously given in accounts extant in his time. What he thought most trustworthy was this: The mischief originated at a banquet, where, in the manner afterward of the great of Rome, in the age of Horace, Mecænas, and Augustus, courtezans were of the company. The celebrated Thaïs, an Athenian born, heated with liquor, and prompted by recollection of what she had heard of the destruction of Athens formerly by the Persians, proposed to make a bonfire of the palace of the Persian kings. Some of the gravest, Plutarch says, of the Macedonians, uneasy at the growing partiality, observed in their young king, for everything oriental, and ernest to turn his affections homeward, if not contributing to excite the

SECT. IV.

extravagance, however incouraged it when proposed. Alexander, not till the general disposition of the company became manifested, led the way, and the palace was presently in flames. As the ruin spred, with more sober reflection he repented, and ordered measures for stopping its progress. The extension of the evil to the city, which it threatened, was thus prevented; but much of the palace was destroyed[15].

According to Plutarch, Alexander staid four winter months at what he calls the capital of the Persians, whether Pasargadæ or Persepolis; and, from Arrian's account this seems probable[16]. The interior of the vast continent of Asia, north of

Plut. Alex. p. 686. F.

[15] The Persian name of the antient capital of Persia was variously written by the Greeks and Romans, probably as it was taken by different ears from different mouths, Pasargadæ, Pasagardæ and Persagadæ. According to Arrian it was the palace of Pasargadæ that, as related in the text, Alexander burnt. According to both Diodorus and Strabo it was the palace of Persepolis. Plutarch gives authority for neither name, but describes the place only as 'τὰ Περσῶν βασίλεια,' and Arrian also sometimes calls it simply Περσῶν πόλις. Curtius confounds the names, l. 5. c. 4. and at length, l. 10. c. 1. s. 22. speaks of the Persagadæ as a Persian people. It is enough evident that the Greek and Roman writers, even Strabo, and Arrian, knew little of Persia proper. Any satisfactory authority for the notion, so extensively received among the moderns, that the old capital was far from Persepolis, the new capital; according to D'Anville a hundred miles south, according to the authors of the antient Universal History, north or north-west; or when a new capital was founded; or why, in all antient accounts, the new capital had only a Greek and the antient only a Persian name; or, if they were different towns, what proves them to have been more distant than London and Westminster, I have been unable to discover. Supposing them one, or contiguous towns, or nearly so, antient authors may be reasonably reconciled to themselves and to oneanother. Supposing them two and distant, reconciliation is impossible. The question however is meerly geographical; for the history unimportant.

[16] What can have given occasion for the strange stories of Persian cruelties and Alexander's retaliation, in which Diodo-

CHAP. XLIX.

proper Persia, rising in some parts in mountain ridges, in others in extensive plains, far higher than the country nearer the ocean, is subject to a severity of cold in winter, unknown under the same latitude, and even in much higher latitudes, in land nearer the level of the ocean. Informed, no doubt, of these circumstances, Alexander prepared, against the earliest of the proper season, to pursue his purpose of completing the conquest of the Persian empire.

rus and Curtius nearly agree, and of the military expeditions in Persia, of all which Arrian has not a word, and which are virtually contradicted, in one part by Plutarch's account, and in another by Arrian's, I must leave to the opinion of the curious reader.

CHAPTER L.

ALEXANDER'S Fourth Campain in ASIA: Affairs in GREECE: Trials for High Treason, marking the Character of the MACEDONIAN Constitution.

SECTION I.

Measures of Darius. Affairs in Greece: Confederacy under the lead of Lacedæmon against that under the king of Macedonia; and War ensuing.

SECT. I.

THE unfortunate Darius, from the field of Arbela, after collecting what he could of his fugitive troops, had proceeded to Ecbatana, the capital of Media. That antient kingdom, with the adjoining provinces, Parthia, Bactria, Sogdiana and others, would alone form a dominion still worthy of the imperial title, and their people were the most warlike of the whole empire, and the most loyal. There he hoped to raise an army with which he might still vindicate for himself that large and valuable relic of his former, perhaps over-extensive, dominion. Nor was he without reasonable subsidiary hopes. The fame of Alexander's extraordinary fortune, and the evidence of his passion for still pushing conquest, had excited alarm among the warlike nations of the north; often at war with Persia, but now rather disposed to look toward the

CHAP. L.

stranger as the more dangerous enemy; so that, negotiation having been put forward, Darius was led to expect important assistance. He looked moreover to the probability that, in the rich and populous countries compelled to receive a forein ruler supported by a forein army, or even in the conqueror's old dominion and the numerous states of various interests around it, whence he was now so distant, or in his army itself, the instrument of his conquests, something might arise powerful to check his progress, and perhaps afford means not only to preserve the actual relic of the empire, but to recover much, if not all of what had been so rapidly lost.

But especially the state of things in Greece, and the old connection of the Persian court, still maintained with a powerful party in that country, tho communication was become difficult and precarious, would afford reasonable incouragement for these speculations. A regular embassy from Lacedæmon, a minister more doubtfully authorized from Athens, and one even from the distant state of Carthage, had followed the Persian monarch's motions; not perhaps, after the battle of Arbela, with choice of another course in their power, yet in regular prosecution of their commissions; and they attended him still at Ecbatana.

The springs of that policy among the Grecian republics, which produced war against Alexander in Greece itself, while he was prosecuting the war of the Grecian confederacy against Persia, nowhere declared by antient writers, but seeming rather studiously involved in mist by some of them, may nevertheless, by a careful examination of information remaining, in a great degree be traced. We have observed it remarked by Plato, of the singular

SECT. I.

constitution of Lacedæmon, that it was more that of an army than of a peaceful society; or, in his expression, of a camp than of a city. It denied friendly communication, on equal footing, with any other government: Lacedæmon must command, or keep at an unsocial distance. Accordingly, in the very terms in which accession to the general confederacy of Greece, under the lead of Macedonia, was refused by the Lacedæmonian Government, the purpose of command was avowed. It had been the habit and privilege, it was declared, of Lacedæmon, to follow the lead of none, but on the contrary to hold the lead of Greece. Philip's sagacity no doubt had observed the unbending and domineering temper of the Lacedæmonian constitution; and he seems, as much as might be, avoiding to offend, to have avoided communication with it. Men versed in his able councils would be among the advisers of Alexander's youth, when, on occasion of the haughty and almost hostile refusal of Lacedæmon to acknowlege the validity of a decree of a general council of the Greek republics, acknowlegement of whose constitutional authority was implied by its act in sending deputies to that council, he showed his moderation. Philip, we have observed, had always professed himself of no party among the contests of the republics; nor is the assurance of Isocrates, that he adhered in practice to that profession, contradicted by any authentic information. Among the Athenians it was avowed as a rule, to compel all states over which, with the name of allies, they acquired command, to change their form of government, if differing from their own. The Lacedæmonians equally, after the Peloponnesian war, overthrew constitutions everywhere. Decarchies superseded the old government

Ch. 44. s. 1. of this History.

CHAP. I.

in most states; governors or superintendants, with the peculiar title of harmost, exercised despotic authority wherever they were sent. Nothing of this arbitrary policy of the Athenians and Lacedæmonians is imputed to the Macedonian supremacy. On the contrary, the endevors of Demosthenes to overbear the confederacy of republics under the lead of Macedonia, by a union of the democratical interest under the lead of Athens and Thebes, failed through the attachment principally of the democratical states, those of Peloponnesus especially, to the king of Macedonia's patronage. Alexander so far deviated from his father's policy as, in Asia, generally to favor democracy in preference to that form of republic, the government of a few, which Lacedæmon had always favored; and in Greece he courted especially the Athenians. Apparently the hostile conduct of Lacedæmon urged him to this policy. Could Lacedæmon have coälesced with the other Grecian states, it seems possible that the vision of Isocrates might have been realized: the Grecian republics, each governing itself, as the Swiss formerly, by its own constitution, and all meeting in general assembly, a resource wanting to the Swiss, to direct common concerns and prevent war of one republic with another, might long have maintained domestic peace and national dignity.

Nothing in antient history remains more fully ascertained than that, under the Macedonian supremacy, the Grecian republics injoyed, not only more liberty and independency than under the Athenian or Lacedæmonian supremacy, but, as far as appears, all that could be consistent with the connection of all as one people. Nor did it rest there; Demosthenes, in the Athenian assembly, reviled the Macedonian monarchs, the allies of his common-

wealth, the heads of the Grecian confederacy, in a manner that, in modern times, would be reckoned highly indecent toward an enemy; and he avowed and even boasted of treasonable practices against the general confederacy, of which his commonwealth was a member: 'I,' he said, 'excited Lacedæmon against Alexander: I procured the revolt 'against him in Thessaly and Perrhæbia.' In fact the government of Athens, described, as we have formerly seen, by Xenophon and Isocrates as in their time verging toward anarchy, is largely shown, in the extant works of following orators, and especially, in the celebrated contest between Æschines and Demosthenes, to have been still advancing in corruption and degradation. During the whole time that Alexander was in Asia, the struggle of parties was violent; one, under Demosthenes, with the support of Persia, contended ably and indefatigably for the mastery of Athens and of Greece; the other, after Isocrates, looking to Phocion as their leader, desired peace under the established supremacy of Macedonia, and above all things dreaded the ascendancy of Demosthenes and his associates.

SECT. I.

Æsch. de cor. p.545. ed. Reiske.

Æsch. de cor. p.558.

Of the domestic politics of Lacedæmon, as occasion has heretofore repeatedly occurred to observe, information rarely comes to us but through transactions with other states. Agis, the reigning king of the Procleid family, whom we have seen alreddy active in enmity to Macedonia, appears to have been a man of character to suit the purposes of Demosthenes; of high spirit, without great talents or extensive views; perhaps of sincere patriotism; and if it was meer Lacedæmonian, not Grecian patriotism, the narrowness should be attributed less to his nature than to his education under the Lacedæ-

CHAP. L.

monian institutions. Possibly he was not much grieved, nor perhaps Demosthenes, at the death of Memnon. Had Memnon lived, either could have been but second of the Greeks of the party; which could no way maintain itself but through the patronage of Persia. By Memnon's death indeed great advantages were lost, and a contest of far less hope for the party altogether remained: But in that contest Demosthenes reckoned, by his talents and his extensive political communication, to hold the first importance among the Greeks, while Agis reckoned himself effectually first, by his regal dignity and the old eminence of the Lacedæmonian state; both trusting that they should still not fail of support from Persia. Till the battle of Issus the hopes of both might reasonably run high; and evidently they were not abandoned on the adverse event of that battle. Yet declamation of cotemporary writers of the party so gained favor with men of letters under the tyranny of the Roman empire, and the spirit has been so cherished by the learned under the arbitrary governments of modern times, admirers of the politics of Demosthenes, as to have spred extensively the belief that Greece was inslaved by the kings of Macedonia. Nevertheless looking to facts acknowleged by all, we find the little, half-ruined state of Lacedæmon never ceasing to avow a political opposition, at length growing into open hostility, to the confederacy of republics, constitutionally established under the lead of Macedonia; as constitutionally, it appears, as ever before under the lead of Lacedæmon, Athens or Thebes. In Athens itself an opposition to the Macedonian interest was always openly maintained. Negotiation was carried on by Lacedæmon among the other republics with avowed hostile purpose, and adverse

intrigue from Athens appears to have been no secret. Against this open political hostility no interference of force, has been even pretended to have been used; and, in all appearance, hardly such opposition of influence as honest prudence might require. Negligence, inertness, shortsightedness, may seem, with more reason, to be imputed; yet they never have been imputed to Antipater, to whom the government of Macedonia, and the protection of the Macedonian party in Greece were committed. It may seem an overweening magnanimity that allowed the workings of the Persian party among the republics to go so far: a determination to prove that the reigning king of Macedonia was worthy, equally with his predecessor, to be the chief of a free people, desiring authority founded on the attachment of a free people and not on violence. But perhaps for a Macedonian politician, of however acute intellect, bred under a monarchy, in the simple state of the Macedonian, the ways of republican intrigue were hardly to be conceived. While then the Macedonian supremacy, if not remissly, was liberally exercised, the party interests in every Grecian state, the inveterate hatred everywhere of fellowcitizens to fellowcitizens, and the generally active and restless temper of the Grecian people, afforded ground for that league against the confederacy of the Greek nation acknowleging the lead of Macedonia, which Demosthenes and Agis succeeded in forming.

It is beyond question that Persian gold, imputed by all writers, greatly promoted the Persian interest. It appears to have been after the disastrous battle of Arbela, when the Persian monarch's hope even of personal safety, depended on opportunity to raise new enemies to Alexander, that he found

CHAP. L.

means to make remittances to Greece. Æschines, uncontradicted by Demosthenes, stated before the assembled Athenian people, as a matter publicly known and not to be gainsaid, that a present to them of three hundred talents, about sixty thousand pounds, was offered in the name of the king of Persia. To the modern eye not only the transaction altogether may seem strange, but, on first view, the sum, as a bribe to a whole people, beside being little for the wealth of the Persian empire, may appear beneath its object. It must however be recollected that, when paper-credit was unknown, and especially if Lesser Asia and Syria were no longer portions of the Persian empire, the remittance of even the sum stated might not be easy; and farther, that the Athenian citizens, competent to vote in the general assembly, have, in no account been reckoned at many more than thirty thousand, and that rarely ten thousand met. Demosthenes himself then having stated, before the Athenian people, half-a-crown to have been a bribe for the secretary of the general assembly, it will appear that sixty thousand pounds might be a powerful present to be divided even among thirty thousand citizens; how much more may have been given to the leading orators remaining unknown. The prevalence of Phocion's party however, at the time, sufficed to procure a refusal of the disgraceful offer.

Demosth. de legat. p. 403. Ch. 38. s. 3. n. 13. of this Hist.

But in Peloponnesus the Persian party, under the lead of the king of Lacedæmon, for whom there was no difficulty in taking subsidies from the Persian court, obtained superiority. Argos and Messenia, inveterately hostile to Lacedæmon, were indeed neither by bribes nor threats to be gained. But all Eleia, all Arcadia, except Megalo-

polis, and all Achaia, one small town only refusing, renounced the confederacy under the lead of Macedonia, and joined Lacedæmon in war, equally against Macedonia and all Greek republics who might adhere to the confederacy. Beyond the peninsula the opposite politics generally prevailed; tho, in Athens, Phocion's party could do no more than maintain nominal adherence to ingagement, and a reäl neutrality; the weight of the party of Demosthenes sufficing to prevent any exertion against the Lacedæmonian league. SECT. I. Diod. l. 17. c. 62.

That league however was not of such extent that it could be hoped, with the civic troops only of the several states, to support war against the general confederacy, under the lead of Macedonia; and those states were not of wealth to maintain any considerable number of those, called mercenaries, reddy to ingage with any party. Nevertheless mercenary troops were ingaged for that league, if the cotemporary orator Deinarchus should be trusted, to the number of ten thousand; Persia, as Æschines, still uncontradicted by Demosthenes, affirms, supplying the means; and another source is hardly to be imagined. With such preparation and such support Agis ventured to commence offensive war. A small force of the opposing Peloponnesian states was overborne and destroyed or dispersed; siege was laid to the only adverse Arcadian city, Megalopolis, and its fall was expected daily. Æsch. de cor. p. 552. ed. Reiske. p. 554. Dinarch. in Demosth. B.C. 330. Ol. 112. 3.

Alexander was then in pursuit of Darius. Accounts of him received in Greece of course would vary: some reported him in the extreme north of Asia; others in India. Meanwhile revolt in Thessaly and Perrhæbia, excited by the able intrigues of Demosthenes, and according to Diodo- Æsch. de cor. p. 558. Diod. l. 27. c. 63.

CHAP. L.

rus, also in Thrace, distressed Antipater, while it was a most imperious duty upon him, as vicegerent of the head of the Grecian confederacy, to protect the members of that confederacy, apparently the most numerous part of the nation, against the domestic enemy, supported by the great forein enemy who threatened them.

Accounts remaining, both of the circumstances of the Macedonian kingdom at the time, and of following events, are very defective. But it appears indicated that no Macedonian force, that could be spared for war southward, would inable Antipater to meet Agis; and it was long before he could excite the republican Greeks, adverse to the Lacedæmonian and Persian interest, however dreading its prevalence, to assemble in arms in sufficient numbers. His success however in quelling the disturbances in Thessaly and Thrace, incouraging the zeal of that portion of the Greek nation which dreaded republican empire, whether democratical under Demosthenes, or oligarchal under Agis, inabled him at length to raise superior numbers. Megalopolis had resisted beyond expectation. Antipater, entering Peloponnesus to relieve it, was met by Agis. A sanguinary battle insued. The Lacedæmonians are said to have fought with all the obstinacy which their antient institutions required, and which their antient fame was adapted to inspire. But they were overborne: Agis, fighting at their head, with the spirit of a hero, rather, apparently, than with the skill of a general, received a wound which disabled him, so that it was necessary to carry him out of the field. His troops, unable to resist superior numbers, directed by superior skill, took to flight. Diodorus relates that, pressed by the pursuing enemy, he peremptorily

Diod. l. 17. c. 63. Ol. 112. 3.

Diod. l. 17. c. 63.

commanded his attendants to save themselves, and leave him with his arms; and that, disabled as he was, refusing quarter, and threatening all who approached him, he fought till he was killed[1].

SECT. I.

The conduct of the victor then was what became the delegate of the elected superintendant and protector of the liberties of Greece. The Lacedæmonian government, feeling its inability to maintain the war in which it was ingaged, and, perhaps no longer holding the same disposition toward it, the principal instigator being no more, sent a deputation to Antipater to treat of peace. Antipater, as deputy of the captain-general and stateholder of the Greek nation, took nothing farther upon himself than to summon a congress of the several republics to Corinth, to which he referred the Lacedæmonian ministers. There matters were much debated, and various opinions declared[2]. The decision at last, in the historian's succinct account, appears not what best might become the wisdom and dignity of a nation accustomed to appreciate its ascertained privileges, or what ought to be such. For the Grecian republics, neither under the rule of Lacedæmon, or of Athens, or under the more liberal superintendancy of Thebes, while Epameinondas lived, were in the habit of such appreciation. And looking to precedents, with any liberal views, the congress could not but be greatly at a loss.

Diod. l. 17. c. 73.

[1] Curtius tells the same story, in his romantic way, describing all as he might see it quietly acted before him on the stage. Nevertheless, in the scantiness of accounts of this important movement in Greece, the loss of that early part of Curtius's work which related leading circumstances, may be regretted.

[2] —'Αντίπατρον. Ἐκείνου δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ κοινὸν Ἑλλήνων συνέδριον τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἀποσάλαντος, οἱ μὲν σύνεδροι σύνήχθησαν εἰς Κόρινθον· καὶ πολλῶν ῥηθέντων λόγων πρὸς ἑκάτερον μέρος, ἔδοξεν ἀυλοῖς, κ. τ. ε.— Diod. l. 17. c. 73.

CHAP. L.

When Lacedæmon led, the massacre of the Platæans; where Athens commanded, that of the Melians and Scioneans; where Thebes had power, the severities against Platæa, Thespiæ, and especially Orchomenus, all would revolt liberal minds. Even the recent decision of the nation, in assembly, against the Thebans, would justly appear a precedent not to be followed. Failing thus of fit example, and unable to agree upon a measure to afford precedent for future times, the resource was to decree that the Lacedæmonian state, submitting itself to the mercy of their great and magnanimous captain-general, should send fifty principal Spartans into Macedonia, as hostages to insure obedience to his decision. We owe to Curtius the additional probable information that the assembly set a fine of a hundred and twenty talents, about twenty-four thousand pounds, upon the Eleians and Achaians, to compensate to the Megalopolitans the damages done in the hostile operations against them.

Curt. l. 6. c. 1.

It seems likely the Lacedæmonians rejoiced in a sentence which, in so great a degree, secured them against the usual virulence of party animosity among the Greeks, and the result of which they had reason to hope would be liberal and mild. It does not appear that anything more was required than to acknowlege error in hostile opposition to the general council of the nation, and to send, thus late, the Lacedæmonian contingent of troops for maintaining the Grecian empire, alreddy acquired, in Asia[3].

[3] Diodorus's succinct account of this interesting business in Greece is clear and altogether apparently fair, allowing for inexactness in round statements of military numbers, and for the partiality which disposed him to adopt the cry of the Persian party among the Greek republics συμφρονῆσαι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας.—Diod. l. 17. c. 62. For the transactions in Thrace,

SECTION II.

Alexander's March into Media: Flight of Darius from Ecbatana: Reinforcement to Alexander's Army. Pursuit of Darius: His Death: Honors to his Memory.

SECT. II.

ALEXANDER, eagerly bent upon completing the conquest of the Persian empire, appears to have used the earliest season that the climate would allow for prosecuting his march northward. In the way to Media or near it, was a country called Parætacene, held by a people who refused submission to him; apparently less through attachment to the Persian king, than with the purpose of maintaining that degree of independency, which we have observed so many provinces within the bounds of the empire asserting, and in apprehension of being brought, by the new conqueror, within stricter rule. Alexander quickly subdued them; and, their territory being extensive and important enough to form a separate satrapy, he added to the former instances of his liberality toward his new subjects, by committing the dignity and authority to Oxathres, whose father, Abulites, a Persian, held under him the more important satrapy of Susiana.

there is deficiency, and perhaps error in transcribing. A rebel Macedonian is mentioned as commanding a Persian party in Thrace, by the name of Memnon, without distinguishing him from the great Memnon, commander-in-chief of the Persian fleets and armies, who according to Arrian's perspicuous narrative, and as Diodorus also has previously indicated, proposed indeed to go to Thrace, but never reached it. What however may more be regretted is the want of more complete information of the circumstances whence the Argians, Messenians and Megalopolitans in Peloponnesus, and so many republics without the peninsula, were zealous in preference of their political situation, as members of the Macedonian confederacy, to that to which Agis and Demosthenes invited them.

CHAP. L.

Arrian, l. 3. c. 16.

Information now arrived that Darius was so advanced in preparation, as to propose to hazard another battle. With all Alexander's ardor and vigor and celerity, prudential considerations, however sometimes he might seem to overstep them, seem never to have escaped him. Celerity in movement he reckoned still important, but such only that he might lead with him his whole force, leaving only the heavy baggage to follow. On the twelfth day thus entering Media, he obtained intelligence that Darius, disappointed of expected succors from the Cadusians and Scythians, had not a force with which he could hope to keep the field. Alexander, still pressing forward, was within three days' march of Ecbatana; when he was met by Bisthanes, an illegitimate son of the late king Ochus[4], with information that Darius had, five days before, quitted that city, with an escort of only three thousand horse, and six thousand foot, but carrying with him about seven thousand talents, near a million and half sterling, in money.

Among the Scythians and Cadusians, the Grecian name would be more familiar, and events in Greece more reddily known, than among the more southerly of the eastern provinces of the Persian empire. With the western Scythians, we have formerly seen, commerce with the Greeks was constant; and that communication among the Scythians themselves, through their extensive country from east to west, was ordinary, will occur for observation in the sequel. Thus it seems likely that Darius's negotiation with them may have been assisted by those circumstances in

Ch. 38. s. 3. of this History.

[4] From all accounts of the family and succession apparently Bisthanes must have been of birth not to succeed regularly to the throne.

Europe, which have alreddy occurred for notice; the powerful opposition raised against the Macedonian interest under the lead of Agis king of Lacedæmon, threatening Macedonia itself, and the probable advantage of such a diversion for the affairs of Darius in Asia. It seems then farther likely that intelligence of the defeat and death of Agis had reached both Darius and the Scythians, and very possibly the Scythians first; whence might come the alteration in their disposition to support a tottering throne, and, in result, his flight from Ecbatana. SECT. II.

This circumstance becoming known, all the great and wealthy kingdom of Media seems to have yielded to the conqueror. The treasury was emptied, but a great revenue would be still accruing. For immediate needs much of the wealth of Persia, found at Pasargadæ, had been brought in the military chest, and from the southern treasuries more might come at command. Alexander's power thus was large both to reward past, and to ingage men for new services. Arrian, reporting his generosity in discharging, is evidently deficient in notice of the numbers added to the army; probably because the generals his guides neglected, or perhaps designedly avoided, to report them. According to Curtius, five thousand foot and a thousand horse, under Plato, an Athenian, joined the army in Media; perhaps all Greeks, but however under Grecian officers, and trained in the Grecian discipline. Plutarch speaks of much larger numbers raised among those whom the Greeks called barbarians. Thus Alexander might be inabled, without inconvenience, to dispense that favor of discharge to those of his old soldiers desirous of it, which Arrian mentions. At Ecbatana he declared

Q. Curt. l. 5. c. 7.

CHAP. L.

all the civic troops of his Grecian allies released from obligation for farther service, and made a donation among them of two thousand talents, about four hundred thousand pounds, in reward of the past. They were then informed, that all the convenience of an orderly march should be provided for those who might desire to return home, but that the choice to reïngage was open to all who might prefer following his farther fortune. These were numerous. Of the others, the cavalry, mostly Thessalian, were allowed, or perhaps required, to sell their horses. A body of cavalry was therefore directed, under the command of Epocillus son of Polyeides, to escort all to the Phenician coast; where, in pursuance of orders to the governor-general, Menes, vessels were prepared to carry them to Eubœa. The remainder of the wealth brought from Persia was placed in the treasury of Ecbatana, to the presidency of which Harpalus was appointed, with a guard of six thousand Macedonian foot, and a small select body of horse. Parmenio was then directed to lead the mercenary troops, and the Thracians, with a large proportion of the cavalry, through Cadusia into Hyrcania.

For his own office Alexander resumed the task of pursuing the illustrious fugitive, Darius. For this he reckoned no longer any great numbers requisite, but those, of every weapon, who could best make rapid progress and bear fatigue. Of heavy infanty he took only those Macedonians who had not been previously selected for the treasury-guard of Ecbatana; of middle-armed only the Agrians; all the bowmen, unless a few had been assigned to the bodies under Parmenio and Cleitus; of cavalry the royal companions, and the forerun-

ners[5], superior bodies, and the mercenary horse; perhaps preferred to the allied, as these, mounting themselves, would be liable to be unequally mounted, whereas the mercenaries, for their inlisting bounty and pay, would be required all to be well mounted, and to be reddy, at least equally with any others, for any service. The haste of the march was such that many of the infantry, unable to keep pace with the rest, were left behind, and some of the horses died of fatigue; yet so was Alexander bent upon his object that, indefatigable himself, he would not remit anything of the speed of the ablest. Thus pressing forward eleven days, he arrived at Rhagæ, within one day's forced march of the pass through the mountains of Caucasus, called the Caspian gate. There he received information that Darius, despairing of ability to defend the pass against him, had abandoned it, and, with a wide continent before him, had resumed flight. SECT. II.

Satisfied now that farther immediate haste would be vain, Alexander halted at Rhagæ five days, to collect and refresh his scattered and wearied troops. Meanwhile he found gratifying consequences resulting from his recent exertion. Of the little army which Darius had led to the Caspian gate, the greater part, on his taking again to flight, deserted, and not a few came and surrendered themselves to the conqueror. Intermitting however the prosecution of his purpose no longer than circumstances made indispensable, Alexander moved from Rhagæ on the sixth day, incamped, for that night, at the Caspian gate, and next day entered Parthia. The country was, in that part, cultivated; beyond, as he was informed, waste. A halt therefore was neces-

[5] Προδρομοι.

CHAP. L.

sary, while Cœnus was dispatched with a strong body of horse and a few infantry to collect provision. During this pause Bagistanes, a man of high rank among the Babylonians, and Antibelus, one of the sons of Mazæus, Alexander's satrap of Babylon, arrived at the camp. Hitherto they had faithfully followed the fortune of Darius. But, in circumstances which had occurred, their services about his person having been forcibly ended, the course they took was perhaps the most promising for his personal safety. Surrendering themselves to Alexander, they informed him that Bessus, satrap of Bactria, with Brazas, satrap of Arachosia, and Nabarzanes, commander of the small force of cavalry which remained as the royal body-guard, had conspired against the unhappy prince, who was actually their prisoner.

Arrian, l. 3. c. 21.

This intelligence inflamed Alexander's ardent and feeling mind. Without waiting the return of Cœnus, he ordered the companion and forerunner-horse for immediate duty, and selected, among the infantry[6], the ablest for rapid progress. Committing the rest of the army then to Craterus, with orders to follow leisurely, and commanding his chosen body to take only their arms and two days' provision, he marched throughout the night, and till noon of the following day. Allowing then short repose, he proceeded again throughout the next night, and about daybreak reached the ground where Bagistanes had left the satraps incamped; but they were gone. Nevertheless important information was obtained. The rebel chiefs had gained the Bactrians and all the cavalry of the small royal army, except that under the satrap Artabazus and his sons. With

[6] Gronovius's note on this passage of Arrian perhaps may deserve the critic's notice.

these the Grecian mercenaries, said by Arrian to have been now collected to the number of four thousand, persevered in fidelity to the deposed monarch; and, tho unable to prevent the revolution, had together seceded from the revolted forces, and were marching for the mountains. Artabazus was the father-in-law of Mentor and Memnon; under the Persian empire, while it existed, satrap of Lower Phrygia, and the firmest still, as he had been among the oldest, of Darius's friends. The unfortunate soverein was confined in a covered chariot; and it was said to be the purpose of the rebels, if they found themselves pressed by pursuit, to deliver him to Alexander, and make for themselves the best terms they could; but, should leisure be afforded them, to use their utmost endevors for collecting forces, and make common cause for vindicating the possession of their satrapies. The command-in-chief, for the present, was allowed to Bessus; both because of his former situation, as the immediate minister of Darius, and also because the circumstances occurred within his satrapy.

SECT. II.

Arrian, l. 5. c. 8.

Arrian, l. 5. c. 9.

This was new and vehement stimulation for Alexander. Tired as his troops were, he would proceed immediately. Again marching throughout the night, and till noon of next day, he arrived at a village which the satraps, with their royal prisoner, had left but the preceding evening. Learning then that it was their practice to march by night and rest by day, it followed that, to overtake them, he must use the day. Inquiring farther concerning their road and the surrounding country, he gained information of a shorter way, but across a desert and waterless heath. Incouraged thus to hope that exertion might yet avail for his ernest purpose, but

CHAP. L.

reckoning it important to have some infantry with his cavalry, he ordered five hundred of the latter to give their horses to as many of his phalanx, and to follow themselves afoot. Committing the rest of the infantry then to Nicanor and Attalus, with orders to proceed by easy marches along the great road, he took himself the cavalry, with his five hundred dragoons, by the shorter way. Having, in the course of the night, advanced between twenty and thirty miles, when day broke he saw the enemy hastening before him in disorderly march. As he gained upon them in pursuit, a few, assuming some order, attempted resistance; but presently some were killed, and the rest dispersed. Alexander then continuing to press forward, Bessus and his associates despaired of being able, safely for themselves, to bear off their prisoner king. Apparently they had reckoned upon advantage to their purposes from holding him alive in their power, and apprehended an adverse use of his name and influence, should he fall living into Alexander's hands. Satibarzanes and Barzaentes, therefore, who had charge of his person, proceeded with their swords to destroy him, and then, with Bessus, rode off. The wounds given in their haste and confusion were not immediately mortal, but, before Alexander could arrive, the unfortunate soverein of the Persian empire had expired.

Arrian, l. 3. c. 21.

Darius, at the time of his death, in the fifth or sixth year of his reign, seems to have been about the fiftieth of his age. Hitherto, in the historian's account of Alexander's conduct, there appears something of personal enmity to the unfortunate soverein of Persia. But if he was ever actuated by any such sentiment, its operation, as all collateral circumstances show, was restrained by a temper

of large generosity, and on his rival's death, not the least of a revengeful disposition was manifested. He directed the dead body to be treated not only with decency, but with all honor. Being carried into Persia, it was deposited in the usual place of sepulture of the royal family, with all the pomp and ceremony formerly used at the burial of the Persian kings. SECT. II.

SECTION III.

Alexander's Measures for completing the reduction of the northern Provinces. Surrender of several Satraps; of the Grecian Troops in the Persian service; of Ministers from Grecian republics to the Persian court. League of Satraps against Alexander, and Acknowlegement of Bessus as Successor to the Persian Monarchy. Treachery of Satibarzanes.

ARRANGEMENTS for the newly conquered provinces now required Alexander's attention, and in these he pursued his early principle of making his new subjects his friends, intrusting command to those among them whom he might suppose most worthy of it. Ammynapes, a Parthian, had been in power in Egypt, and had concurred with Mazaces in surrendering that rich country to Alexander. His service on that occasion was now rewarded with the appointment to the satrapy of Parthia and Hyrcania, which seems to have been one of the greatest governments of the empire, and, for situation and circumstances, of the highest trust. The precaution however, which we have seen used elsewhere, was not omitted, but, perhaps rather extended here; a Grecian collegue was given him, Tlepolemus, SECT. III.

CHAP. L.

son of Pythophanes, one of the band of royal companions.

Arrian, l. 3. c. 23.

For securing the dominion of these northern parts of his now vast empire, two important objects yet remained; to reduce Bessus, who, assuming the name or title of Artaxerxes, aspired to succeed to the sovereinty of the Persian monarchs, and also to bring to his obedience those of the late king's adherents who, tho seceding from the traitor, had not yet surrendered, and especially the Greeks. These had betaken themselves to the lofty wooded mountains of Hyrcania, whose inhabitants, the Pagrans, affecting independency of the Persian dominion, appear to have admitted them as associates. Alexander then being joined by the bodies which, through the rapidity of his movement he had left behind, took again, according to his custom, the service of fatigue and danger. Sending Craterus in command of an expedition against the Tapoors[7], and committing to Erigyïus the conducting of the cavalry and greater part of the phalanx by a circuitous but better road, he himself led a chosen body of heavy-armed, with some bowmen, a most diffi-

[7] Ταπούρους.—To investigate accurately the geography of these countries, so little known to the world of letters either in antient, or even in these modern times, is a labor which I have been unable to undertake. Diodorus, attentive often to matters less within Arrian's purpose, relates that Alexander, in his way now through a most plentiful country, came to a great city, which he calls Hecatontapylus, a Greek, it will be observed, and not a Parthian name, meaning Hundredgates: Thence entering Hyrcania, he subdued all to the Caspian, which Diodorus concurs with Arrian in considering the same as the Hyrcanian sea; tho modern travellers have ascertained that there are two seas, or immense lakes, which the antients appear not to have known to have been separated by a wide tract of country. The historian then mentions a district in Hyrcania, called the Happy, singularly fruitful, with vines and fig-trees especially productive.

Diod. 17. 75.

cult march over the mountains. He seems however to have found little other opposition than the country itself offered. A great plain beyond, extended to the sea which Arrian calls the Caspian. Here he halted four days; and, before the body under Erigyïus arrived, Phradaphernes, satrap of Hyrcania and Parthia, with Nabarzanes, and some others who had been in high situations under Darius, came and surrendered themselves. Proceeding then toward Zadracarta, the capital of Hyrcania, he was joined by Erigyïus, with the baggage of the whole army, and by Craterus, who had brought to obedience the people through whose country he had passed. The Grecian mercenaries had been supposed there, but no intelligence of them was obtained. Soon after however the satrap Artabazus arrived, with three of his sons, Cophen, Aribarzanes, and Arsames, and also Autophradates, satrap of Tapuria, all surrendering themselves; and they brought with them, desiring to present, for his favor, some Greeks of the Persian service, deputed to solicit his forgiveness for the whole body. All the Persians were honorably received. Autophradates was restored to his satrapy. Artabazus, a man now of great age, of the first nobility of Persia, known to Alexander not only as satrap of the province of Bithynia, and by his various Grecian connections, but also as having been at one time a refugee at Philip's court, was, together with his sons, complimented on their fidelity to their late soverein, and all were immediately placed in situations of honor about Alexander's person. But he peremptorily refused to treat with the Greeks; they must surrender themselves unconditionally, or provide their own safety. Their deputies, then, hopeless of better for themselves and their constituents,

CHAP. L.

ingaged for the required submission to Alexander's generosity; requesting only that an officer of rank might return with them, to command the march, and provide for security in it. This was granted; and it seems to have been a kindness that would be gratifying and incouraging to them that, in the commission for the purpose, with his own officer, Andronicus son of Agerrus, the satrap Artabazus, their friend and late patron was joined, who, through his family-connections and habits, was almost half a Greek.

Arrian, l. 3. c. 24.

In his progress into Hyrcania Alexander had left behind him a hord of freebooters, the Mardians, holding a highland territory, so rough and so poor that the combined consideration of the difficulty of subduing them, and the worthlessness of the conquest, had hitherto preserved them from invasion; and they the more trusted they should continue to injoy the immunity, as Alexander had alreddy passed without noticing them[8]. But for Alexander, it appears, difficulties were pleasant. He would hunt a wild hord of warriors among hardly accessible mountains, as other princes the wolf or the roe. He had now formed a body of horse-dartmen, apparently after the Persian model, probably all Asiatics, trained from infancy to the exercise; skill in which is not to be acquired but while the limbs have the suppleness of the growing frame. Part of the country, it appears, was fit for the action of cavalry. With this new body of horse-dartmen therefore he took also half the horse of the order of companions: some chosen heavy-armed, all the bowmen, and all his favorite

[8] Μάχιμοι ἐπὶ τῇ πενίᾳ ἦσαν. Arrian, l. 3. c. 24. This phrase, combined with all we learn of the Asiatic mountaineers, enough marks their character of freebooters.

middle-armed, the Agrians, completed his army. With a force so various, so practised, and so commanded, the Mardians certainly were unaccustomed to contend. Wherever they attempted resistance they were slaughtered; and flight, even to their highest and roughest mountains, gave them but a precarious security. Shortly they sent deputies offering submission to regular authority, and their country was added to that of the Tapoors, under the administration of Autophradates. SECT. III.

Returning to his camp in the lowlands[9] Alexander found the Grecian mercenaries arrived, under the conduct of Artabazus and Andronicus, and with them some eminent prisoners of a remarkable description. They were ministers from several states to the Persian court, who had followed the unfortunate Darius while he lived. In preference to Bessus then, and his associates, they had held with Artabazus and the Greeks; and now, hopeless of other means of safety, they threw themselves on Alexander's mercy. An embassy from Lacedæmon, consisted of four, Callistratidas, Pausippus, Monimus, and Anomantus: Dropides[10] was commissioned from Athens: from Carthage came Heracleides, whose name would mark him for a Greek; possibly of a Sicilian town of the Carthaginian dominion; and from Sinopë, on the Euxine shore, some deputies unnamed. The Sinopians he immediately dismissed, considering them, tho of Grecian origin and language, yet not of the Grecian confederacy, but proper subjects of Persia, and therefore warranted to communicate by their deputies with the Persian king. The others he

[9] Τὸ τραπέζιον ἔνδοσεν ὡρμήθη ἐς τῶν Μαρδων τὴν γῆν.

[10] *Dropides*, Arrian, *Diopeithes*, Diod.

CHAP. L.

ordered into custody; the Lacedæmonians being agents of a state ingaged in rebellion against the common confederacy of the Greeks, and the Athenian not only so, but a rebel to the actual government of his own city, which adhered to the general confederacy. Whether the original appointment of Dropides had been regular, from the Athenian people under the lead of Demosthenes, or his mission was one of those irregular measures of an adverse party, of which Demosthenes himself furnishes an instance in describing his own conduct, does not appear. Taking then the various cases of the Grecian mercenaries into consideration Alexander freely dismissed all who had entered into the Persian service before the confederacy was formed, to the presidency over which he had been elected to succeed his father. On the rest he imposed no greater severity than requiring them to enter into the service of that confederacy, with the same pay as in their former service; and Arrian gives his judgment on this, that it was clearly a wise liberality.

While Alexander was delayed by the difficulties of the mountainous country to be traversed, and of the season, which seems to have been winter, in a climate where, for the latitude, the winters are of extraordinary severity, some principal Persian nobles had assembled about the regicide Bessus. A just patriotism might animate some; and the hainousness of the crime of regicide would be diminished for Persian minds by its familiarity, not in Persian history only, but in the history of eastern courts altogether. Looking around then for means to maintain themselves, they had negotiated with neighboring nations, claiming assistance as in a common cause, against the invader from another

quarter of the world. Alexander's successes and avowed ambition might indeed well excite jealousy, however his pretensions, even if extending to universal empire, were no more than the Persian kings appear to have asserted, after the Assyrian princes, who possibly claimed from the first patriarchs. Accordingly the combined chiefs were not unsuccessful in their negotiation: and, especially as the powerful nations of Scythia gave them hope of large support. To preside over their measures, and give weight to their negotiations, in conformity to oriental notions, one supreme head was become indispensable, and the imperial dignity was allowed to Bessus. He assumed then the upright tiara and the Persian robe, the customary marks of royalty, and with them the name of Artaxerxes, and the title of king of Asia. SECT. III.

Alexander meanwhile, with his usual scorn of rest, bent upon revenging the murder of Darius, and, for his own future quiet, preventing the murderer from injoying the proposed fruit of his crime, crossed Parthia to the adjoining territory of Areia. At Susia, a principal town, Satibarzanes satrap of the province, surrendered himself, and, in reward for his reddy submission, was restored to the satrapy. So disposed then was Alexander to trust those of the Persian nobility whom he received into favor, that he left in Areia a body of only forty horse-archers, under the command of Anaxippus, one of his band of companions; not to hold the people in subjection, but to insure them against injury from his own troops in passing through their country. Intelligence arrived of the lofty pretensions of Bessus, and of the expectation of a Scythian army to support them. Preparation for such events had

CHAP. L.

not been neglected. A considerable body of cavalry joined from Media; and, with his collected army, Alexander was proceeding to invade Bactria, when information of the first treachery, at least the first of any importance, experienced among his new subjects, reached him. Satibarzanes, whom he had so reddily received into favor, and trusted with high authority, was of a timeserving character. No sooner did his magnanimous new patron's departure from his province leave him scope, than he began practising with the people to revolt with him, in favor of the regicide Bessus, and he quickly succeeded to a great extent. Overpowering then Anaxippus and his small band, he put all to death, and collected his utmost force at Artacoana, the capital of the country. There, should Alexander return against him, he hoped to maintain himself till he might have relief from his newly chosen soverein, or, should the enemy persevere in his course, to carry assistance to that new soverein.

Alexander was instantly decided by the urgency for repressing and punishing such treason as that of Satibarzanes. Committing the command of the main body of his army to Craterus, he took himself the lead of a select division, the best capable of rapid movement. By a forced march, in two days, he reached Artacoana; so before expectation, that, in the universal surprize and alarm insuing, the greater part of those whom the satrap had assembled in arms deserted him, and he himself, utterly at a loss for measures, fled, with a few horse. Rarely as Alexander had yet been harsh, even against rebels, it was judged necessary to take measures of some severity here. Not the chiefs only, as many as could be taken,

suffered, but, cavalry sent in pursuit of the people (who, at the satrap's call, had left their villages in arms) killed many, and made many prisoners, who were sold for slaves. Alexander's magnanimity however would still trust his new subjects, insomuch that he committed the satrapy of Areia to Arsaces, a Persian. SECT. III.

Returning to the body of his army, he proceeded into the province of Zaranga, held by Barsaentes, one of the accomplices of Bessus in regicide. This satrap, who seems to have been yet but preparing means for supporting his associate's assumption of the royal title, fled on Alexander's approach. Whether only for better safety to his person, or hoping to find support for his cause, he went into the neighboring northern part of India. But he had so far miscalculated his interest there, that he was arrested and sent prisoner to Alexander; who reckoning him a proper subject for public justice, caused him, with what formalities we do not learn, to be executed for his atrocious crime against his proper soverein.

SECTION IV.

Trials of Philotas and others for High Treason.

ALL thus succeeding for Alexander in his exertions for completing the conquest of the Persian empire, a matter broke out, of a character most severely to interrupt his immediate satisfaction, and to imbitter his following days. In this distant corner of that empire, bordering on nations hardly heard of among the Greeks, with his mind bent upon the prosecu- SECT. IV. Arr. l. 3. c. 26.

CHAP. L.

tion of war against the traitor and regicide Bessus, his declared rival in claim of the Persian empire, he was informed that Philotas, who had been among his most intimate and favored friends from childhood, son of Parmenio, his father's and his own most confidential general, was ingaged in traitorous measures against him. Concerning this variously interesting matter, and its tragical results, our information is very disappointingly scanty. Here, if anywhere in antient history, an account, circumstantial as well as trustworthy, of a political plot, where the criminal suffered the penalty of the law, might be expected. Not that we can wonder if the historian generals, Aristobulus and Ptolemy, connected as they were with the parties, and probably interested in the event, were, as Arrian shows they were, in their published histories, cautiously concise upon it. Yet, from other sources, it might be supposed, posterity would derive trustworthy information of matters of such public importance, through trials so public, as those which insued. It is however evident that Arrian could find no other guides in whom to have any confidence; and apparently we may trust Plutarch for the failure of any others deserving it, since, disposed as he generally was to inlarge on such matters, tho, in his too usual way he has undertaken to relate words spoken, the least likely to come to public knowlege, yet he assists not with a syllable Arrian's brief account of the very interesting public circumstances.

Aristobulus and Ptolemy, as Arrian assures us, concurred in relating that disloyalty was not now for the first time imputed to Philotas. He had been accused of treasonable practices so long before as when Alexander was in Egypt. Then, however, the accusation seems to have rested on

mere suspicion; that any proof was reddy is not said. Accordingly Alexander's generous temper, on consideration of his intimacy from infancy with Philotas, his respect for Parmenio, and the ground, in his mind, for believing both above suspicion, would not allow any formal inquiry: the matter dropped, and Philotas continued to be trusted with high command, and to receive favors, perhaps extravagant. SECT. IV.

We have had occasion formerly to observe faction, for ages, violent among the Macedonians. In character however it differed from that among the Grecian republics. The contending parties, as in our own country formerly, supported different families, competitors for the throne; the constitution, being also like ours of old, but more than ours, irregular and undefined, yet having, in some degree like ours, excellent principles of freedom. Among those, formerly of adverse parties, admitted to favor and confidence by the generosity of Alexander, we have seen some making an ill return; of whom his kinsman Alexander of Lyncestis, accused by Parmenio, is said to have attended the army's movements as a prisoner now for three years. In the Macedonian court, as in all courts, rivalship, dissension, contest, though of less violence than in republics, yet were weeds of growth not to be prevented. Even generosity would produce trouble, as in the case of Alexander of Lyncestis, and whether he was guilty or no; one party imputing crime to the Lyncestian, another envy, and false or exaggerated accusation to Parmenio. Diod. l. 17.

It is remarkable, considering Parmenio's fame as a general, and his eminence under Philip and under Alexander, that, concerning either his political, or his private character, so little remains. The

CHAP. L.

liberal and perhaps reasonable inference would be, that in politics he was honest and moderate, and in private life unexceptionable. But where party was rife, to be wholly clear of party connections, and of their influence on conduct, would hardly be possible. The violence and indiscretion, of either an adverse or a friendly party, might make that necessary which was not within his inclination.

To mark the private character of Philotas we are not equally without anecdote. In what rank Parmenio was born is not said, but probably among the higher. An over early promotion to the highest among subjects appears to have been the misfortune of Philotas. In Alexander's first campaign against the northern Europeans, he held the command of all the Upper Macedonian horse; apparently the principal force of cavalry in the Macedonian service. From the first arrival of the army in Asia we find him in military rank, and in importance of commands, inferior hardly to any but his father. Thus situated, with considerable talents, he had made his military merit conspicuous. But his vanity and ostentation are said to have been yet more conspicuous; and his profusion was such that though, as Alexander's generosity expanded with his acquisitions, loaded with riches, he was sometimes without means for his immediate needs. Through his generosity, his vanity, and his high pretentions, he had numerous adherents, but also numerous enemies. Among instances of his arrogance he is reported to have said, talking of his father's deeds and his own, 'What would Philip have been without Parmenio, 'or Alexander without Philotas?' Parmenio, himself, it is related, apprehensive of the consequences of his indiscretion, tho partial to his merit, reproved

Plut. v. Alex.

him on some occasion, saying, 'My son, be less 'eminent[11].' SECT. IV.

The weight of Parmenio's family, in political as well as in military affairs, must have been great; himself the second man in the army and the kingdom; his eldest son inferior only to himself; and two other sons, Nicanor and Hector, holding high military rank. When Alexander advanced northward, Parmenio had been left with the chief command in Media; a trust of the more importance, as Alexander had allowed himself little time for arranging the affairs of that extensive and rich kingdom, to which he must in prudence look for means of retreat, should any adversity make retreat necessary. Parmenio, thus in the most critical detached command, was in the situation in which we have commonly before seen him. But it is observable, in Arrian's narrative, that, since the battle of Arbela, Philotas is less mentioned, and Craterus was become the general in whom Alexander showed most confidence. Probably the concurrence of Diodorus and Plutarch may be trusted for the enmity they assert to have existed between Craterus and Philotas. But family calamity, which Parmenio had been suffering, may have somewhat lessened that family weight which arises from combined influence. One of his sons, Hector, had recently fallen in battle. Another, Nicanor, had since died of sickness. Alexander's disposition to a generous sympathy however did not fail on that occasion. In his eagerness for the prosecution of war against Bessus, denying rest to himself, he had given leave for Philotas to remain

[11] Χείρων μὴ γίνου.——Plut. v. Alex. p. 692. B.

CHAP. L.

in Parthia, where his brother died, to do, in funeral obsequies, all honor to his memory.

Arrian, l. 3. c. 26.

Philotas had rejoined the army, when he was suddenly arrested on accusation of high treason. Caution was evidently deemed requisite in measures, even the most rigidly legal, against the heir of a family so eminent, and among a large party in the army so popular. The proceedings against him appear to have been strictly according to the Macedonian law. But that law, tho proposed to give the utmost security to innocence against official power, being the law of an unlettered people, was favorable to hasty decision. Communication with Parmenio was avoided, while Philotas, with others, accused as accomplices, were brought to trial. The manner of the trial appears to have been nearly the same as in the Grecian kingdoms of Homer's age, and hardly differing, in essential matters, from what, derived from the times of regal government in Attica, had ever since prevailed in the Athenian republic. All the Macedonians of the army were assembled as the jury. The king himself, as in our law, was the prosecutor; and, as appears to have remained regular under the Macedonian constitution, tho ours, consulting better both the dignity of the crown and the safety of the subject, has for centuries disallowed it, Alexander himself arraigned the accused, who himself pleaded his own defence. Witnesses were then heard; the multitudinous court pronounced sentence of death; and those who gave the verdict were the executioners, proceeding, it appears, immediately, to pierce the condemned with their javelins. In this hasty consummation only is marked a difference from Athenian practice; a difference not creditable to the Macedonian law, but on the contrary, a

striking relic of barbarism; yet, in character, so far consonant with the rest of the proceeding as to mark itself a feature of a free constitution[12]. SECT. IV.

Among those, brought to trial with Philotas, were Amyntas, Attalus, and Simmias, sons of Andromenes, who all held high rank in the army. Polemon, their brother, immediately on receiving information of the arrest of Philotas, whose intimate friend he was, had fled. This circumstance made very unfavorable impression upon the minds

[12] Diodorus says that Philotas was put to torture, and, in his sufferings, confessed the crime imputed to him. Curtius, whether inventing himself, or profiting from the ingenuity of some one of the many Greek writers of Alexander's history, whose works, in his time extant, are now lost, has worked up the trial of Philotas, with attending circumstances, into nearly a complete tragedy. Plutarch also gives, in his way, some scenic representation, hardly of probability enough for tragic poetry, and utterly unfit to be asserted as history.

It is too well known that torture for the purpose of extracting confession from accused persons has been extensively used, to the disgrace of almost every known sort of government; and probably enough the Macedonian may have warranted torture. But Arrian's account strongly implies that there was no opportunity for applying torture to Philotas. Indeed it seems to afford conviction that the whole story of the confession has been exaggerated by the ingenuity or the interestedness of some, and perhaps altered by the carelessness of others, of the writers whom Diodorus, Curtius and Plutarch followed. Whatever confession Philotas made, Ptolemy and Aristobulus no doubt would have known, and are not likely to have been backward to report; for they were evidently not of Parmenio's party. Nevertheless they concurred in relating that Philotas denied the imputation of having information of a plot against Alexander which he never revealed; and Arrian, who shows himself to have been anxious to discover and to relate all that could be ascertained concerning this interesting transaction, appears to have given no credit to any account of any confession made by him. Concerning three most important points it is satisfactory to find all extant accounts agreeing; first, that the trial was public, by the assembled Macedonians of the army; secondly, that the condemnation was pronounced by a majority; and thirdly, that this majority themselves carried their own sentence into execution.

CHAP. L.

of the numerous jury; yet the three tried so defended themselves that they were acquitted. Amyntas then requested that he might be permitted to seek his fugitive brother, confident, he said, of his innocence, and of his own power to persuade him to return and stand his trial. The assembly assented; Amyntas went, and on the same day returned with Polemon. Thus, says the historian, even the suspicion, that might have adhered to all, was done away; and Alexander, whose great mind evidently was always averse to suspicion, continued to Amyntas the high command he held[13].

In the usual failure of Arrian, for such matters, we have only, from Diodorus, a very succinct account of legal proceedings against Parmenio. That eminent man, he says, absent, was arraigned before the same numerous tribunal which condemned Philotas. His friends in the army were allowed to plead in his defence, and there was much contest in speeches. A majority at length pronounced condemnation[14]. This was a mode of proceeding authorized by the law and practice of Athens, and probably of most, if not all, Gre-

[13] Arrian, more concise concerning the trial of Philotas, in speaking afterward of that of Amyntas, which appears to have followed immediately, confirms the description of the criminal court, given by Curtius, as consisting, according to the antient Macedonian law, of all the Macedonians of the army. Ἀλλ' Αμύντας γε ξὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, ὑπομείνας τὴν δίκην, καὶ ἀπολογησάμενος ἐν ΜΑΚΕΔΟΣΙ καρτερῶς, ἀφίεται τῆς φιλίας. Καὶ εὐθὺς ὡς ἀπέφυγεν, ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ ἠξίωσεν ἀφεθῆναι ὁι ἐλθεῖν παρὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν,—καὶ ὁι ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΕΣ ξυγχωροῦσιν.——Arrian, l. 3. c. 27. Diodorus, a century and a half before Arrian, expressed himself to the same purpose, Τὴν κρίσιν τοῖς ΜΑΚΕΔΟΣΙ (ὁ Αλέξανδρος) ἐπέτρεψε. l. 17. c. 79. More, to the same purpose, occurs in the next following note.

[14] Πολλῶν δὲ ῥηθέντων λόγων, ὁι ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΕΣ κατέγνωσαν τοῦ Φιλώτου, καὶ τῶν καλιαιλιαθέντων, θάνατον, ἐν οἷς ὑπῆρχε Παρμενίων Diod. l. 17. c. 80.

cian republics. It may, therefore, on the authority of Diodorus, not unreasonably be believed of the Macedonian kingdom; a branch from the great root whence the Grecian republics sprang. Indeed it is not wide, in principle, from our own law of parliamentary impeachment; for the portion of the Macedonian people forming the army, when regularly called together by the king, as a popular assembly, appears to have been, by the Macedonian constitution, a soverein assembly. That, in Alexander's army, a powerful party desired the ruin of both Parmenio and Philotas is implied in all accounts. Proof of guilt, against even the son, Arrian seems rather to have doubted; and against the father he appears to have known of nothing beyond suspicion. What authority Curtius may have had for his different conclusion we fail to learn. Those writers however concur in indicating that measures of severity against a man in Parmenio's situation were not to be taken without hazard, requiring much caution in proceeding. Indeed the circumstances, formerly noticed, of the arrest of Alexander of Lyncestis, on Parmenio's accusation, mark the necessity of deference to general opinion, in a Macedonian army, on such an occasion. Arrian, in his usually simple manner, reporting facts without comment, says, that Polydamas, of the order of Royal Companions, was sent into Media, with instructions for the generals Cleander, Sitalces, and Menides, who, apparently, had been commanding under Parmenio. They were authorized now to command in chief; and, in pursuance of instructions to them, Parmenio suffered death[15].

Curt. l. 6. c. 11.

Arr. ut ant. Curt. l. 7. c. 1.

Ch. 47. s. 1. of this History.

Arrian, l. 3. c. 26.

[15] Diodorus, in his account of Parmenio's condemnation and death, with his usual honesty, shows vacillation between

CHAP. L.

Ch. 47. of this History.

From Arrian, we have no farther account of the Lyncestian Alexander, son of Aëropus, than that, on accusation preferred by Parmenio, as formerly related, when the king Alexander was in Lycia, he was removed from a situation of high military command, and imprisoned. But Diodorus and Curtius concur in reporting that, having remained a prisoner three years, he was now brought to trial before the same numerous tribunal which condemned Philotas; and, receiving sentence of death, was executed. That any community in crime was imputed to them, does not appear; and if credit, which there seems no reason for denying, should be given to the concurring accounts of those writers, the probability may seem to follow, that the son of Aëropus was a sacrifice required by the partizans of Parmenio and Philotas.

Arrian's eminent situation, under the despotism of Roman emperors, might occasion for him no small amount of necessity for forbearance on civil and political subjects, even in treating of centuries long past; and thence it may be that we have so little light from him on such subjects; a deficiency in his history greatly to be regretted. There is indeed no appearance that he has suppressed any

different reports before him, from different parties; of the merits of which he felt himself unable to judge, and yet was unwilling to acknowlege so much. After having related that Parmenio was condemned by a vote of the majority of the army) which, as a very public matter, was probably not denied by writers of any party,) he says, that Alexander, sending men upon swift camels, to arrive before report of the execution of Philotas could reach Parmenio, Παρμενίωνα ἐδολοφόνησε, l. 17. c. 80. This expression enough marks itself as derived from an adverse party, and yet perhaps not very falsely describes the manner of the business, which, however uncreditable for a regular government, may have had large warrant from such law as precedent may have established among the Macedonians.

fact reported by those whom he has professed principally to trust; but it is to be observed that they also were in situations to make it not only imprudent, but highly improper to publish all that might come to their knowlege. In the deficiency therefore of their accounts, what has been transmitted by antient writers, less informed than Aristobulus and Ptolemy, and less judicious than Arrian, yet having before them what does not remain to us, may deserve some attention here. Diodorus reports measures taken, as necessary to stem the ebullition of discontent arising from the execution of Parmenio. Those of the army, who by their conduct in the judiciary assembly, or otherwise, had manifested a disposition adverse to the king's counsels, were noted: to discover the less openly indicated purposes and sentiments of others, letters directed for Macedonia were opened. Thus, he says, the communication of the spirit of dissatisfaction from the army to the people at home was checked. And to prevent the spredding of dissatisfaction in the army itself, through daily conversation, the discontented were drafted from their several divisions, and formed into one separate body, with an appropriate title; a title not to be with certainty translated, but seeming to refer to their failure in constitutional deference to the decision of the assembly of the army, constitutionally held to deliberate on matters of vital importance to the state[16]. Of these matters no mention is

[16] Ἀτάκτων τάγμα.——Diod. l. 17. c. 80. This title, according to Diodorus, was given, or warranted, by Alexander himself. The authors of the antient Universal History have translated it the *turbulent battalion*. It is rendered in Rhodoman's Latin translation, adopted by Wesseling, *cohors extraordinaria*, and explained, conjecturally, in Wesseling's note, *Fortasse quod seorsum cohortem hanc a ceteris tendere rex jusse-*

CHAP. L.

made by Arrian; and that the Macedonian generals, his favorite authorities, would avoid them, is likely. But he relates measures of a character to corroborate what the elder historian has reported. The command of that superior and numerous body of horse, called the King's Companions, was thought, he says, too great a trust to be any longer committed to one officer. Being therefore divided, one division was given to Hephæstion son of Amyntor, the other to Cleitus son of Dropidas: both those officers were among Alexander's most confidential favorites. Not long after, suspicion being entertained of Demetrius, one of the lords of the body-guard, that he had participated in the councils of Philotas, or perhaps was among those discontented at his fate, he was removed from that confidential situation; and Ptolemy, the historian, afterward king of Egypt, gained promotion, being appointed in his room. It is thus made evident that Ptolemy was not of the party of Parmenio and Philotas. Doubtful then as history has left their guilt, doubtful also as remains that of the Lyncestian prince, whose accuser Parmenio was, it seems altogether likely that Alexander, in very difficult and hazardous circumstances, took nearly that course, which, as far as human prudence could decide, those circumstances imperiously required, and the Macedonian law warranted.

Arr. l. 3. c. 27.

rit. The title *turbulent*, apparently, would have been ill fixed by authority, as its tendency would be rather to stimulate the turbulence which it was the purpose of the measure to stifle. Possibly the word may have had reference to the military situation in which the drafts were placed; as the Latin translator and the learned annotator have imagined; or, possibly, it may rather have been applied, as supposed in the text, to their conduct in their civil capacity, as members of the general assembly of the army, failing in constitutional deference to the decision of the majority.

CHAPTER LI.

ALEXANDER's Fifth Campain in ASIA, which completed the Conquest of the PERSIAN Empire.

SECTION I.

Natural and Political Circumstances of the Northern Provinces of the Persian Empire. Rebellion of Satibarzanes. Paropamisan Alexandria founded. Asiatic Recruits to Alexander's Army [1].

SECT. I.

AMONG events so originating from party interests, and so necessarily distressing to numerous individuals, irritation to the public mind could not fail, nor would immediately cease. Parties would remain adverse to each other, and some among them perhaps adverse to the king himself. To leave the army then in leisure to brood upon the past could

[1] Arrian, little attentive to chronology, noticing neither the Olympiads nor the years of Rome, yet relating events generally in the course in which they occurred, and sometimes mentioning seasons, has pretty satisfactorily distinguished the five first years of Alexander's reign. The two next are less marked by him, and those following less still. For Diodorus, the beginning of the Olympian year at Midsummer, dividing thus the principal season of military operations, has been a stumbling-block; and his purpose of a concise abridgement of universal history would ill allow him to give every event exactly to its day. In failure of other assistance, nevertheless, we are often reduced to draw from him as we best may, and rejoice in what he affords.

CHAP. II.

not be prudent, even had it been Alexander's disposition, or had there not remained an enemy, holding means with inclination to disturb his yet unsettled empire.

The views of Bessus and his associates were greatly favored by the circumstances natural and political, of that considerable portion of the Persian empire, in which they had held the chief, and, some of them, perhaps, hereditary commands. The mountain-range which, under various antient names, Taurus, Caucasus, Emodus, Imaus, and others, extends, from the west, as Arrian has observed, through Asia, as far as Asia was in his time known, is supposed, from modern observation, to complete its course unbroken, through China, to the Pacific Ocean. Comparatively narrow within Lesser Asia, it spreds in Armenia; which in Strabo's description consists of many mountains, and many highland-plains. Contracted then, on the north of Media, it spreds again in advancing toward India; in some parts so unbroken in its height as to seem a great iland, or even a continent, set upon a continent. From the narrower part, where it approaches the Caspian sea, a large branch stretches southward, almost to the Indian ocean, forming the eastern boundary of antient Media and Persia. Eastward then of this extensive highland country is a sandy desert, not equalling those of Africa, but far greater than that often called the Great Desert, which divides Mesopotamia from Syria. Extending fifteen degrees of longitude and ten of latitude, it reaches eastward to India, southward to the ocean. Report went that it had been the grave of every army attempting to cross it; among which one of the great Cyrus, and, tho not impossible, yet rather more against probability, one of his predecessor in the

Strab. l. 15. p. 689, ed. Casaub. et al. Arr. l. 5. c. 5.

Strab. l. 11. p. 520. vel 791. ed. Casaub.

SECT. I.

Assyrian empire, the great queen Semiramis, are mentioned. Communication thus, from the body of the empire, and its three capitals, with the northern provinces was limited and hazardous.

Those northern provinces were of great extent, and variously important. Bactria or Bactriana, the satrapy of Bessus, while a subject, was a large country, populous and eminently fruitful. Strabo says it gave abundantly all the most valuable productions of the earth, except olives, and whatever else could ill bear severe winter cold. Its limits, as those of all these provinces, except where a great river marked them, appear to have been but uncertainly known to the most inquisitive and best informed antient writers; and the names of many, taken by Grecian ears from Asiatic mouths, or by Grecian pens from Asiatic alphabets, are found so variously written as to leave it often uncertain whether, by names of different orthography, the same country or another has been intended. Sogdia, or Sogdiana, north of Bactria, bordered on Scythia. Westward, the principal names are Parthia, Daã, and Hyrcania. Southward was Paropamisus, for its extent eminent among those found in various parts of the world of the character which the concisely expressive language of Greece described by the one word oropedion[2], which may be translated a highland-plain. Southward of this, in a line from west to east, were Zaranga, apparently the same which is found otherwise written Drangia and Drangiana, and perhaps Dragogia, unless Dragogia were a name for the country of the Ariasps, beyond which, eastward, Arichosia extended to India. All these countries partook of the

[2] Ὀροπέδια. Strab. l. 11. p. 520.

CHAP. LI.

character of Strabo's oropedion, highland-plain, tho less lofty than Paropamisus, and all bordered southward on the Great Desert. Westward then of Paropamisus was the large and highly fruitful province of Aria, Areia, or Ariana, bordering, northeastward on Bactria, and, in the opposite direction, reaching the Caspian Gate; the Thermopylæ of these parts, being the principal pass for communication with Media and the body of the empire. By position therefore, as well as by produce and population, Areia was of great importance. In all these countries moreover, the people, widely different in character from those of the south, were universally bred to the use of arms. Nevertheless in the lowlands they were civilized, and their country highly cultivated. Areia, still more than Bactria, was celebrated for fruitfulness, and especially for the abundance and excellence of its wines. The people of the adjoining province of Zaranga, or Drangia, tho a highland country, are marked as a civilized race, by Strabo's information that they lived in the Persian manner, except, as he says, that they had little wine, the climate, apparently, denying the production.

We have observed, in the account of Alexander's course through the Lesser, or as the Greeks called it, the Hither or the Lower Asia, the turbulent and predatory character of the people of the extensive highlands of that country; not widely different, it must be confessed, from what, in many lively pictures, from the candid pen of Xenophon, we have seen extensively that of the Greeks themselves. It may be advantageous to add here Strabo's account of the mountaineers of the Greater, the Farther, or the Upper Asia.

SECT. I.

Westward of the Caspian Gate, toward the borders of Armenia, the Mards and other highlanders, brought by Alexander to submission in his course through that country, have been alreddy noticed. Southward, along the borders of Media and Persia, the mountains dividing those rich regions from the Great Desert, were held by various hords, of which some also have alreddy occurred for notice. Their territories differing in fruitfulness of soil and temperature of air, their wants, and so their mode of life and of policy, in some degree differed; but they were all more or less freebooters. The Cossays, on the east of Media, were all bred from infancy to the use of the bow; and for the supply of their wants and luxuries, beyond what their soil spontaneously afforded, and what they might get by hunting, they depended almost wholly upon robbery. The Parætacs were not without agriculture, but still they were robbers. Elymæa, southward, had, among its mountains, some fine vales well cultivated: it was altogether the most varied and most fruitful of the highland countries. The military hords, holding these countries, had each its chief; for military hords must acknowlege a chief. However then occasionally, or, perhaps some of them, hereditarily, at variance with oneanother, they would also occasionally unite, when defence required, or when opportunity for profit invited. The Elymæans, having the best country, and most practising husbandry, had probably also the best policy. Their chief is said, at one time, whether before or after Alexander appears uncertain, to have been accompanied by thirteen thousand men from other hords, in addition to his own, in a march into Susiana and Babylonia. All these people had been

Strab.l.11.

Strab.l.15. p. 732.

Strab.l.11. p. 524.

CHAP. LI.

brought to acknowlege submission to Alexander; but a submission no longer to be depended on than while the strong hand of power was impending over them.

Those highland-plain provinces, which extended eastward from Areia to India, with Paropamisus on the north, and the Great Desert on the south, were held by people who, as more following agriculture, were more disposed to live in peace with their neighbors. To have secure command of this country, while he proceeded northward against Bessus, was important for Alexander. Rugged highlands formed a line of separation for all this northern part of the empire from the still larger and richer portion which more patiently acknowleged his sovereinty. But it appears that he had a farther object. The Indian prince who, of his own free motion, as we have seen, sent in bonds to Alexander the fugitive satrap of Zaranga, Barsaentes, the associate of Bessus, thus marked himself for no friend to Bessus. Probably, their territories joining, they had been at variance; and the Indian, dreading the advancement of the satrap of Bactria to the sovereinty of the Persian empire, was anxious to cultivate the friendship of the great conqueror, his enemy.

Ch. 50. s. 3. of this History.

Such seem to have been the considerations which induced Alexander, as soon as the revolt of Areia, excited by the faithless satrap Satibarzanes, was quelled, instead of returning directly northward, by the western side of Paropamisus, into Bactria, to proceed first eastward, to the provinces southward of that singular country. Zarangia or Drangia was first in his way, where the catastrophe of Philotas and Parmenio and the Lyncestian Alexander had occurred. But before

matters were so settled that military operations might be resumed, autumn was alreddy advanced, and the country, tho according to the latest geographical inquiries, included within the thirty-fourth degree of northern latitude, and thus south of all Europe, became early covered with snow. SECT. I. B.C.330. Ol.112.4.

In the mild climate of our ilands very few persons, comparatively, are aware of the degree of winter cold on the continent southward, even in the countries nearest us, Germany, and a large part of France itself; tho to those who have visited America or China, vicissitudes of temperature in the air, of a violence hardly known anywhere in Europe, will be familiar. But even within Europe, the account of a country, not ordinarily visited either for business or curiosity, by a very intelligent modern author, who had held high office there, may deserve notice. 'In Walachia,' which is in the latitude nearly of Lombardy and the south of France, 'the winter,' says that respectable writer, 'is long, and commonly very severe. In the year 'one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine, 'tho little snow fell, the quicksilver in Reaumur's 'thermometer stood at twenty degrees below frost[3]. 'Spring begins in April; in July and August the 'heat is excessive. Excellent wines are produced 'in great abundance: but, as soon as the vintage is 'over, the vines are bent to the ground, and covered 'with soil, not to be exposed to the air again till 'spring[4].' Xenophon's description of a climate Obs.int.la Valachiae Moldav. Ch.23.s.4. of this History.

[3] Twenty degrees of Reaumur's thermometer are equal to about forty-seven of Farenheit's: an amount of cold never experienced in any part of Britain.

[4] Observazioni storiche, naturali, e politiche, intorno la Valachia e Moldavia, printed at Naples in 1788. The author, Raicewick, by birth and family a Transylvanian, was counsellor of legation from the court of Vienna to that of

CHAP. LI.

some degrees southward of Walachia, yet more severe, so as to forbid the cultivation of the vine, of which he had experience in returning from Mesopotamia with the Cyreian Greeks, will be remembered[5].

Alexander had alreddy had experience enough of the climate of Caucasus and the highlands branching from the great range, to be not unaware of what was to be expected among them. Eager nevertheless in his purpose, in advanced autumn he moved from Zaranga eastward. In the adjoining country he met with a political phenomenon of a

Naples, where he did me the favor to present me with his book. He had been previously secretary to the Austrian embassy at Constantinople, and afterward principal secretary to Ypselanti prince of Walachia. With a singular talent for acquiring languages, he chose the Italian for his book, and has had the approbation of Italian critics for his style.

[5] Δράγγας τε καὶ Δραγωγοὺς ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ παρασησάμενος: παρεσήσατο καὶ τοὺς Ἀραχώτους—Ἐπῆλθε δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν, τοὺς προσχώρους Ἀραχώτους. Ξύμπαντα δὲ ταῦτα ἔθνη διὰ χιόνος τε πολλῆς, καὶ ζὺν ἀπορίᾳ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, καὶ τῶν ῥιγιωτῶν παλαιπωρίᾳ, ἐπῆλθε. Arr. l. 3. c. 28.

The learned translator of Arrian, Rooke, would give no credit to this passage of his author: 'The country,' he says, in a note on it, 'lies between the thirty-fourth and fortieth 'degrees of latitude, and *of consequence could not* be much 'colder than Greece or Italy.' Common as such error is, it seems strange that a man of learning and inquiry should so boldly maintain it. Not only any one acquainted with Virginia could inform him better, but, in Johnson's dictionary, he might have found admonition, that he should have inquired further before he so positively asserted. Under the article *Temperature*, the great lexicographer quotes the following passage from Brown's Travels. 'There may be as much 'difference, as to the *Temperature* of the air, and as to heat 'and cold, *in one mile as in ten degrees of latitude;* and he 'that would cool himself in summer had better go up to the 'top of the next hill, than remove into a far more northern 'country.' Brown's Travels quoted under the article *Temperature.*

Rooke's numerous notes indeed, unless for his laborious collation of Curtius with Arrian, are rarely of any value.

very gratifying kind, of which probably he was not without previous intimation. The small nation of the Ariasps, or Agriasps, differed so in character from the predatory hords of the Asiatic highlands in general, that they were renowned for honesty and good faith. Arrian says, meaning it evidently as high eulogy, that they were equal to the best of the Greeks. According to tradition, the great Cyrus, when he marched through their country to make war on the Scythians, was so satisfied with their conduct, that he gave them the title of Welldoers; which had prevailed so as nearly to have superseded their antient name[6]. How a small hord so situated should have acquired this superior character, and how, under a government so failing to afford due protection to its best subjects, as we have seen the Persian, they should have maintained it and preserved themselves, is matter of just curiosity, for which however, among antient writers, gratification fails. Alexander, the historian proceeds to say, halted in their country to celebrate a sacrifice to Apollo; and their rulers, encouraged by his expressed satisfaction with them, requested a small addition to their territory, which he granted. An additional proof of his favor and confidence he seems to have given them, in committing the government of their country to a Persian, who, according to Curtius, had been secretary to the late king, Darius, not leaving any military force under a Grecian commander to insure their fidelity to ingagements.

SECT. I.

Arrian, l. 3. c. 27. Strab. l. 15. p. 724. ed. Casaub. Diod. l. 17. c. 81.

Arr. ut ant. Diod. l. 17. c. 81.

Diod. ut ant. Curt. l. 7. c. 3.

The Ariasps of this country, as the learned examiner of the historians of Alexander has observed,

[6] Of the Persian word we are not informed, the Greek writers all using the translation into their own language, Εὐεργέται.

CHAP. LI.

have been confounded by some antient writers with the Arimasps of Europeän Scythia, eminent in fable as dwarf human monsters, with an eye only in the forehead, who waged continual war with brute monsters, of mixt form, beast and bird, called griffins or gryphons. Hence the existence of the Welldoers has been called in question[7]. Wherever fable is found blended with history, under respectable assurance of its antiquity, some foundation in truth may not unreasonably be suspected. Extensive tracts of mountain, and their inhabitants, generally, the world over, are little known beyond their immediate neighborhood. Of those in Europe, the Alps, whose vallies alone afford thorofare to Italy, have become most familiar. There the disease of the swoln throat prevails, and with it often mental weakness. Those of its people not so affected are generally of good persons, and strong in body and mind; and even those laboring under infirmity of

[7] If the learned examiner of the historians of Alexander has given way sometimes to hasty fancy, the liberal reader, considering the merits of the work, and the author's early age when published, will make allowance for it. 'Les historiens 'd'Alexandre saisirent avec empressement,' he says, 'le rap- 'port qu'il pouvoit y avoir entre les Agriaspes ou Ariaspes, 'selon Ptolomée (l. 6. c. 19.) et les Arimaspes, peuple de la 'Scythie Européene, celebre tant par les fables qu'en avoit 'debitées Aristeas de Proconnese (Herod. l. 4. c. 11. et seq.) 'que par le secours qu'ils donnerent aux Argonautes, et qui 'leur meriterent le nom d'Evergetes (Steph. Byzant.) les 'ecrivains—imaginerent, &c.' Exam. Crit. des Hist. d'Alex. p. 214. Strabo, as well as Diodorus, agrees with Arrian in sober account of the Welldoers of this neighborhood of India. The concurrence of Diodorus and Curtius concerning the appointment of a satrap to their country, tho differing as to his name, yet agreeing so far that each gives him a Persian name, is itself considerable testimony. Altogether then, whatever of fable may have been mixed with accounts of the Ariasps by writers whose object has been amusement for the fancy, their more sober history is so far warranted that it cannot but appear rather rash for a modern to treat it with contempt.

either have been remarked for that eccentric wit, which in those ages when letters were neglected and even despised by the higher ranks, was so in request, as an amusement of courts and great houses, that none would be without its fool. Hence, throughout the south of Germany, the proper name Tirolese has become the common word for that kind of witling; as at Paris, Swiss for a porter, and Savoyard for a chimneysweeper. But within Europe there is another country, less known, where the malady is more severe. 'The 'people of Argis, among the mountains of Wala- 'chia,' in the account of the respectable writer recently noticed, 'seem hardly of human race: 'less than four feet high, such is the fleshy protu- 'berance under their chins, that the large mishapen 'head seems fixed on the chest, without the inter- 'vention of a neck; and understanding fails.' Nevertheless Walachia is a valuable country, and the people, not thus unfortunately affected, a respectable race. Whatever then may be thought of the Europeän dwarfs, the Arimasps, objects of fable, and whether there may or may not have been any analogy between them and the Walachians of Argis, or between either them, or the Walachians, with the Ariasps between Media and India, it cannot but be gratifying to the investigator of eventful history to find, among other testimonies, that of so able and careful an inquirer as Arrian, to the character of the Asiatic Welldoers.

SECT. I.

Observ. int. la Valach. e Mold.

In the northern parts of the Persian empire, tho hardly reaching the middle of the great Asiatic continent, the character of the people, and of their government, appears to have differed from those of the south as much as the climate. In the south, the mass of the population consisted of husband-

CHAP. LI.

men and artizans, utterly unused to arms, depending upon the ruling powers to insure orderly conduct among themselves, and to protect them against forein enemies. Here government was despotic, and subjects were careless whom they served. But, in the north, verging on forein nations, whose trade was plunder and war their delight, circumstances, compelling every man to be a soldier, compelled also the rulers to respect the subjects. Where every man bears arms there must be respect for the multitude; there must, whatever form the government may have, be a considerable amount of freedom; and the conduct which rulers find necessary, will attach the people to them. Alexander found early proof of this. Satibarzanes, his late satrap of Areia, faithless in promise, but bold and persevering in enterprize, on being surprized by his rapidity, so as to be obliged presently after ingaging the Areian people in revolt, to abandon them, had fled to Bessus. While then Alexander was busied with his various measures for securing his command of the countries southward of Bactria, Satibarzanes, obtaining a body of two thousand horse from his new soverein, returned into Areia[8]; and, such was the respect for him among the people, or such their aversion to a forein dominion, that he ingaged them a second time in revolt.

Alexander did not judge it necessary now again to interrupt the prosecution of his concerted measures, by returning himself to oppose this new insurrection. With two Macedonians, Erygyius and Caranus, he appointed two eminent Persians, Artabazus, so often before mentioned, and Phra-

[8] This is the orthography in our copies of Arrian: in those of Strabo it is Aria, but more commonly Ariana.

taphernes, his satrap of Parthia, to conduct the war in Areia. Satibarzanes meanwhile had collected such a force as to venture to meet them in battle, and maintain sharp contest. With that impatience, distinguishing Asiatic from Europeän minds, he seems to have resolved to conquer or die. Instead then of attending, with the just coolness of a general, to the conduct of those under him, who were yet maintaining an action of doubtful issue, he sought personal conflict with the opposing commander; attacking Erygyius, he was killed by his hand. The Areians then universally fled, and no farther resistance appears to have been made throughout their country. SECT. I. Arrian, l. 3. c. 28.

Meanwhile Alexander proceeded eastward, through Arachosia to the confines of India, the whole way, according to the concurring accounts of historians, over snow. No opposition is mentioned, even in the Persian provinces. In India, as alreddy observed, it seems probable that his object was rather negotiation than war, and he appears to have succeeded. But he had now had sufficient evidence that, for these northern countries, quiet could not be provided with the same ease, or by the same methods, as for the southern. The singular region called Paropamisus, divided Arachosia from Bactria. Probably his information was good on which he grounded his resolution to proceed thither for winter quarters. On the higher grounds projected from the mountains into the lofty plain, he found a spot advantageous for the site of a fortress to command an extent of fruitful country. There he employed his troops during winter in building a town, to which, as to his Egyptian city, he gave the name of Alexandria[9]. Arr. ut ant.

[9] Arrian says that here, Caucasus produces nothing but firtrees and masterwort, τερμίνθους and σίλφιον, yet that the

CHAP. LI.

We have seen, in Xenophon's account of the retreat of the Cyreians, how unavailing ordinary Grecian discipline was to prevent the association of women and the growth of families, in a Grecian army, passing any time in an enemy's country, even in distressing circumstances. Hence, tho the Macedonian discipline is likely to have been, for other matters, more perfect, yet, much as Alexander evidently had need to court his army, what indulgence for the society of women, in passing through such an extent of country as conquerors, would be expedient and even necessary, may, in some degree, be estimated. We have seen also the violence of opposition to Xenophon's purpose of colonization with the Cyreian army. But his plan was proposed after a single year's absence from Greece, and not till all the greatest difficulties of the return, long nearly hopeless, were overcome, and home was alreddy almost within sight. Very different were the circumstances now, when, after an absence of three years, the army was on the border of India, and a winter campain in

Ch. 23. s. 5. of this Hist.

country is populous, feeding numerous flocks and herds. Σίλφιον, under its Latin name, Laserpitium, is described by Ainsworth, 'an herb, the gum whereof is called *laser*; some 'call it masterwort; some take it to be benzoin: the worst 'kind of it is called assa fœtida.' Of this plant, Arrian proceeds to say, sheep are so fond that the Cyrenæans, in whose country it abounds, and who prize the benzoin greatly, protect it from them with laborious care. Elsewhere he mentions the name Caucasus as improperly, tho frequently by the Greeks, extended to this part of the great Asiatic highland chain. He uses it nevertheless here, but seemingly limiting it to the mountains, τὰ ὄρη and not including under it the plainer highland country, which would probably give other produce than τερμίνθους and σίλφιον.

Strabo reckons Paropamisus within his Ariana, and thence calls this the Arian Alexandria, but, among later writers, the title of the Paropamisan seems to have more prevailed.

SECT. I.

a most severe climate, against enemies of high and even singular warlike fame, was in view. Probably numbers would take, if not with a view to perfect satisfaction, yet as a very desirable immediate indulgence, the permission to rest, with their families, in the new settlement. It seems indeed likely that a large proportion had been Persian subjects; for the civil government of the colony was committed to a Persian, Proëxes, with the title of satrap; the military command however being reserved to Neiloxenus, of the band of companions. But such was the wisdom or felicity with which the situation was chosen and the arrangements made, that the settlement prospered, as a Grecian colony, long after support from a Grecian empire failed, and florishes yet, it has been supposed, under the corrupted name of Candahar.

Arrian, l. 3. c. 28.

Vincent on Nearchus, v. 1. n. 7.

Arrian's omission of notice of Asiatic recruits to Alexander's army, even Greeks of Asia, has been formerly observed, and the probable cause suggested, that the Macedonian generals, whose reports he principally trusted, were not solicitous to mention them. What is related on this subject by other writers will therefore deserve consideration. Plutarch says that, observing the hardiness of body and firmness of mind of the people of these climates, Alexander inrolled no less than thirty thousand boys, to be trained in the Macedonian discipline. Probably he has described them properly, calling them boys; for men would be averse to a change of habits to which they had been educated; whereas boys would soon become proud of arms and discipline, which gave them military importance above the men of their nation, and equality with the conquerors of Asia. Associating

CHAP. LI. with Greeks, they would, more reddily than men, learn the Grecian language, and, in other matters of habit, would become effectually Greeks.

SECTION II.

Measures of Bessus. Discontent in Alexander's Army: Pursuit of Bessus: Critical Circumstances of Alexander: Surrender of Bessus.

Arrian, l. 3. c. 28. BESSUS meanwhile had been busy in measures for obstructing Alexander's farther progress. Of the northern satraps about him, of no small power, some were also of no mean abilities; insomuch that hope might be entertained, not only to defend the dominion they yet held, but to proceed to the recovery of some of the southern provinces, which it might be supposed, only in want of due support from a superintending government, had submitted to a forein invader. They removed or destroyed all subsistence for an army, throughout the plain at the foot of Caucasus toward Bactria, and soon the season, coming to their assistance, had covered the country with snow.

But, for Alexander, difficulties were inviting, and rest annoying. Anxious to reach Bactria while Bessus might be yet incompletely prepared, he resolved upon moving while spring, in that severe climate, yet lingered. Probably his inquiries had been extensive, his information good, and his purpose founded on a just view of things; for the result warrants the supposition. But he had difficulties to encounter beyond what the enemy opposed. To Babylon, and perhaps as far as the treasury of Pasargadæ, he was followed by most

willing soldiers; eager for great rewards in promise. Even when, after indulgence of some months of rest and plenty there, the march was turned northward, in pursuit of the fugitive monarch, the expediency of thus providing permanence for advantages gained would be so obvious to those of more thought, and impatience of rest, ordinary with those habituated to action, would so stimulate the more thoughtless, that zeal for the prosecution of the monarch's purpose might still be reddy. But when Darius was no more, and with him the Persian dynasty so far extinct, that a pretender able to contend with Alexander, for the richer part of the empire, was supposed no longer to be apprehended, yet war was to be prosecuted in a most severe climate, against hardy nations, whose conquest would bring no obvious reward, a great change would be likely to insue in the soldier's mind. Diodorus, Curtius, and Plutarch nearly concur in supplying what Arrian has left unnoticed; probably because the Macedonian generals, his guides, would avoid report of the first ebullitions of discontent in the army; and yet there occurs, in his narrative, what gives probability to their accounts.

SECT. II.

Diod. l. 17. c. 64. Curt. l. 6. c. 2. Plut. v. Alex. p. 691.

It appears likely that, as Curtius relates, the adverse humor originated, or first became extensive and dangerous, during the intermission of military enterprize, while the new city, the Paropamisan Alexandria, was building. The notion was propagated that, Darius being dead, Alexander clearly lord of the Persian empire, and a new settlement prepared for those whom age or wounds disabled for the long march home, and for numerous others for whom, on account of families grown in camp about them, or failure of means at home, such a settlement would be acceptable, all desirous

CHAP. LI.

of returning would of course have free leave to return. In this temper of the army, notice of the purpose of marching still northward, and with snow yet upon the ground, was received with such demonstration of discontent, and such disposition to disobedience and tumult, that Alexander deemed it expedient to call the soldiers together as a popular assembly. In an able speech then, mixing the pathetic with the animating, he so wrought on their minds, as to restore zeal for the prosecution of a hitherto glorious, and largely rewarding, but yet unfinished war, and to produce a declaration that they would follow wherever he would lead. Diodorus adds that this zeal was politically rewarded with large donations immediately made; and it seems indicated, by what Arrian adds, that it was promoted by promises of dismissal for any who might desire it, when the expedition, which circumstances immediately required, should be ended.

The threatening discontent of the army being thus appeased, Alexander hastened to use the favorable temper which he had excited. Proceeding with the utmost speed that the season and the state of the country would allow, he advanced into Bactria. Whether Bessus and his associates disagreed, or why else they were yet so unprepared to defend that extensive and populous region, which, under their legitimate soverein they had commanded as his satraps, we are uninformed; on Alexander's approach they withdrew. Probably his army was formidable, not by discipline only, but in number also. They however resolved to retire behind the great river Oxus, which separated Bactria from Sogdiana, the satrapy of Spitamenes. But when arrived there, the Bactrians of their army, to the number of seven thou-

Arrian, l. 3. c. 29.

sand horse, refusing to go farther, dispersed to their several homes; whence it may seem that Bessus, even in his own province, was little esteemed. The Sogdians followed Spitamenes, and the Daäns accompanied them; for the way was homeward for both. But the sequel shews Spitamenes to have been able, and considerably popular. When all had crossed, they burnt the boats which had given them passage; thus demonstrating hopelessness of support from Bactria, and abandonment of the Bactrians to the mercy of the conqueror. Alexander allowed his army, in the town of Drapsaca, some time for rest and refreshment, which were probably needed. He then proceeded against Bactra and Aorni, the two principal cities of the province; and, these making little resistance, the whole quickly submitted. In the citadel of Aorni he placed a garrison under one of his band of companions, Archelaus son of Androcles, and he committed the very important satrapy of Bactria, a large, fruitful and populous province, to his Persian friend, of tried fidelity in ingagements alternately on each side, the almost half Grecian Artabazus. SECT. II.

It may have been policy, but it seems also to have been in some degree a passion of Alexander, to pursue Darius living, and not less so to revenge him dead. Coming to the river Oxus, the difficulty of crossing seemed insurmountable. The breadth was great; the depth various; the rapidity of the stream, and the shifting of the gravel in its bed, made fording, in the most favorable season, dangerous. But now, with advancing spring, the snow melting on the mountains, fording was utterly denied; and to make bridges, or repair the destruction of boats by the enemy, the country, to a Arrian, l. 3. c. 29.

CHAP. LI.

great extent, afforded no material. The hazardous resource therefore was, what we have before observed in use for passing quieter streams, to use skins, the soldiers' beds or nightly covering, duly stuffed, as rafts.

With his mind eagerly bent upon one object, Alexander's circumstances were, at this time, variously critical. His new subjects, to whom he had dispensed favors, and committed great and confidential offices, showing, in some instances, a most honorable fidelity, still in others, continued to prove that trusting them was hazardous. Intelligence came that Arsames, raised, on the second expulsion of the faithless Satibarzanes, to the important satrapy of Areia, was misconducting himself; insomuch that Stasanor, of the band of companions, was sent to arrest him. Whether some revival of discontent in the army, and unwillingness to pursue a flying enemy farther among boundless snows and deserts, were demonstrated; or it was simply in pursuance of promises given, when the former fermentation was stilled, some of the most valuable troops of the army, in circumstances so pressing, were dismissed. All those Thessalians, who had voluntarily renewed their services, together with all Macedonians who could claim privilege for age, wounds, or any disability, were, in this critical state of the expedition, allowed to return to Europe. No others are mentioned, nor is cause for the distinction stated, but, in the course of the history, it may be gathered. The Thessalians, all cavalry, would all have either property or valuable connections at home, and to Alexander popularity in Thessaly was of especial importance. Of civic troops of the southern republics, probably few, if any, now remained with the army. Alexander's

great acquisition of pecuniary means having inabled him to dispense with their service, by increasing his mercenary Grecian force, all ingaged for adventure, and in no small proportion exiles, whose republics would not receive them, and to whom therefore their discharge would be a most severe misfortune. SECT. II.

The army then crossed the Oxus on the stuffed skins. If loss was suffered Arrian has not mentioned it; but he says the business, probably executed with diligent care, employed five days. The army then proceeded in pursuit of Bessus. The effect of the bold measure was evidently great: it appears to have brought to decision the policy of that pretender's associates. A deputation from Spitamenes and Dataphernes met Alexander, commissioned to inform him that Bessus was effectually their prisoner; not indeed under close restraint, but in their power; and they would surrender him to any officer whom he would send with a detachment, which need not be large. Alexander chose for the important mission Ptolemy son of Lagus. To his orders a force was committed, not inconsiderable for number, but superior for selection. The heavy-armed consisted of the taxis[10], which having been that of Philotas, went still by his name, and one chiliarchy of hypaspists. Of this body we have no farther information than that, with its peculiar title, of very uncertain meaning, it had eminently Alexander's confidence, and especially his preference among the heavy-armed, for rapid movements. Of light infantry,

[10] Whether the taxis, in Alexander's army, more nearly answered to our brigade, or to a division consisting of two or more brigades, appears uncertain. The chiliarchy would be something between eight and twelve hundred men.

CHAP. LI.

all the Agrians were assigned, and half the bowmen of the army: of cavalry, three troops of royal companions, and all the horse-darters. With this force Ptolemy was directed to use the utmost speed, while Alexander followed with the rest of the army, at an easier pace than before. Such then was the vigor of the body selected, that, on the fourth evening, having completed the space, the historian says, of ten ordinary marches, Ptolemy reached the ground which Bessus had quitted only the day before. Gathering reason then for doubting, either the sincerity of Spitamenes and Dataphernes in their offer, or their perseverance in its purpose, he took the lead with his cavalry only, directing the infantry to follow, in order for action. On approaching a fortified town, he learnt that Bessus was there with a small force; deserted by Spitamenes, who would no longer support him, yet would not himself be the person to deliver him to his enemies. Ptolemy sent a summonce into the town, offering immunity to the garrison and people, upon condition of surrendering Bessus. This found reddy acceptance, and Ptolemy, with his prisoner, hastened his return.

Approaching Alexander, he sent to ask his commands for the manner in which the captive chief, the pretender to the throne of Asia, should be brought into his presence. The answer directed that he should be placed naked, with a halter about his neck, on the right of the road by which the army was marching. Alexander, in his chariot, stopping when he came near, asked Bessus, 'Why 'he had so treated Darius, not only his king but 'his friend and benefactor, dragging him about a 'prisoner, and afterward putting him to death?'

Bessus answered, that 'the measures were not of 'his single authority, but concurred in by those 'then attending Darius, with the view to obtain 'safety for themselves from Alexander's mercy.' Alexander then directed that he should be scourged, and that the herald should proclaim his crimes of treachery and murder in the same terms in which he had himself reproached him, as the reason for the ignominious severity. This, Arrian says, was Ptolemy's own account. But Aristobulus related that Bessus was sent by Spitamenes and Dataphernes under a guard, apparently meaning a guard of their own people, who delivered him naked, and bound with a halter; seeming thus to differ from Ptolemy, yet not clearly contradicting him. This notice, by Arrian, of difference between those eminent writers, whatever farther may be thought of it, will be so far satisfactory to the modern inquirer, as it shows his care to investigate and declare authorities, and to mark whatever might be doubtful. The miserable Bessus was sent to Bactra, the capital of the province of which he had been satrap, there to await his farther doom. SECT. II. Arrian, l. 3. c. 29, 30.

SECTION III.

Stubborn Resistance of the Northern Asiatics. Negotiation with Scythian Kingdoms. A Grecian Colony established among the Scythians not Subjects of the Kingdoms. War with the Scythians, not Subjects of the Kingdoms.

In passing the mountains of Caucasus, and in the hasty marches over the snow-clad plains beyond them, a great number of horses had perished. SECT. III.

CHAP. LI.

Fortunately Sogdiana and adjoining provinces could furnish supply of a valuable kind, both for cavalry and baggage. But time would be necessary for collecting these, and preparing them for service to follow, while the army rested in the city called by the Greeks Maracanda, the modern Samarkand, capital of Sogdiana.

The object of the next march, toward the Caspian sea, is no farther stated, than as it appears the people were not disposed to the submission required; perhaps necessary toward the quiet of the more civilized country which acknowleged the conqueror's sovereinty. Nevertheless no opposition seems to have been yet met, when, while the army incamped near a great river, variously called Tanaïs, Orxantes, and Silys, a body of foragers was destroyed; and the natives, to the number of thirty thousand, assembling on the summit of a hill on all sides precipitous, defied assault[11]. Alexander, indignant at his loss and their presumption, took himself the lead of his lightest troops to storm the post. Such however was the difficulty of the ground and the energy of its defenders, that his men suffered in several unsuccessful assaults, and he himself received a bowshot in the leg. The wound was so far severe as the arrow-head could not be extracted without cutting; but efforts were not relaxed for it. Resistance being at length overborne, only about eight

[11] The river, according to Arrian, was ordinarily called the Tanaïs; not that Tanaïs, he says, which, falling into the lake Mæotis, was reckoned by Herodotus the boundary of Europe and Asia; for, rising among the heights of Caucasus, it runs into the Caspian, or, as he names it here, the Hyrcanian sea. According to Aristobulus, he adds, the people of the country called the river the Orxantes: Pliny (l. 6. c. 16,) gives it the very different name of the Silys.

thousand of the enemy were reckoned to have escaped death from the sword, or the precipices by which they attempted flight. SECT. III.

Concerning Alexander's wound, warranted by Arrian, a circumstance, related only by Curtius, but in its nature open to extensive knowlege, may deserve notice. A wound in the leg, it is well known, for cure, requires rest of the limb. But Alexander's mind could not rest without personal observation of things going forward. He would be carried in a litter, by men's hands, wherever he supposed his attention wanted. The honor then of being his bearers was contested with eagerness among his troops. The cavalry, as his usual companions in action, claimed the duty of attending his necessities when unfortunately disabled for action. The infantry contended against this, that, as theirs was the office to carry their wounded fellow-soldiers, cavalry as well as infantry, it could not be just to deny them the honor of carrying their king, when needing such assistance. Alexander settled the dispute by deciding that cavalry and infantry should carry him alternately. Curt. 1. 7. c. 6.

Not many days after, while he was allowing that rest to his army which he wanted for himself, but nevertheless was employing his mind diligently in ordering regulations for all the country around, he was surprized with embassies coming to wait upon him from the kings of the Scythians. Arrian mentions, of that powerful and extraordinary people, two great kingdoms, one in Asia, the other in Europe; and, beside these, many wild hords, who, with opportunity for wandering over immense plains of soil little productive, in a most severe climate, avoiding all certain settlement, avoided all regular government. They appear to have resembled

CHAP. LI.

much the borderers of England and Scotland in former days, and those of Spain and France; differing chiefly as they lived in a severer climate, and had an extent, very many times greater, of land uninviting for cultivation, to wander over. The embassies, now arriving, came together from the two great princes of the more settled and civilized Scythians, the Asiatic and the Europeän. To the Europeän the Greeks had been for ages known. Athens, we have seen, had commercial settlements on their shores, which were a principal source of its slave-market, and Macedonia had had wars with them, and probably treaties. To the Asiatic-Scythians, communication with the Persian empire was familiar, in war and in negotiation. Both the princes appear to have supposed it of consequence for them to acquire some insight into Alexander's purposes; and it was perhaps yet more important for him to have some knowlege of theirs. Receiving both the embassies therefore in a gratifying manner, he avoided immediately entering into any specific treaty with either, by sending, as a compliment, his ambassadors to their princes.

Ch. 38. s. 3. of this Hist.

Within the great river, the boundary of the late Persian empire against the Asiatic-Scythian kingdom, a Scythian hord, conquered, it appears, by the great Cyrus, had been allowed to retain its establishments, and to live in freedom, as subjects of the Persian crown. But to provide for peace and good order, that prince had fortified a principal town, which had from him its name, in the Grecian translation, Cyropolis. War with any of the Scythians appears not at all to have been Alexander's purpose; nothing among them inviting it. But stability for his acquired empire, always prominent among his objects, and, with it, improvement of the

condition of its people, required consideration. To provide security therefore for his northern border, and at the same time inforce peaceful demeanor among subjects disposed to turbulence, he pursued his own former plan, in imitating that of his great predecessor in conquest. On the river, whether to be called Tanaïs, Orxantes, or Silys, a situation offered itself, recommended, not only by its opportunities for both protecting Sogdiana, and carrying war, should it become advisable, into Scythia, but also by various circumstances of promise for the growth of a great and wealthy city. A remarkable instance of Alexander's deference, whether more for the political principles gathered from his habits with the free constitution of Macedonia and his education under Aristotle, or for the free people forming the principal strength of his army, followed. He summoned all the Sogdians, who held authority in their country, to a meeting for deliberation on measures for common good [12]. His purpose evidently was to conciliate his new subjects of the north, as he had conciliated those of Egypt and the south of Asia: but Arrian, who, himself an Asiatic, would know the general temper of Asiatics, indicates that it had a contrary effect; expressing himself doubtful whether it did not excite more jealousy than the proposed new town, and afford more opportunity of advantage for the partizans of Bessus. The Sogdians generally, and many of the Bactrians, and all the Scythians within the Orxantes, ingaged together in revolt. The Scythians were the first to act. Falling suddenly on those of the Macedonian army quartered in their country,

SECT. III.

Arr. l. 4. c. 1.

12 Ἐς ἕνα ξύλλογον ἐκήγγειλε συνελθεῖν τοὺς ὑπάρχους τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης.—Arr. l. 4. c. 1.

CHAP. LI.

they put all to death; and then Scythians, Sogdians, and Bactrians, withdrew to their strong places.

Such proceedings would of course call forth Alexander's energy. His first measures were directed against the Scythians. Cyropolis had walls of masonry, and a citadel: six other towns had fortifications, but only of earth. Among these towns their forces were distributed in proportion to the estimated importance of each; by far the greatest in Cyropolis. Alexander committed to Craterus an army sufficient to invest that city, while he took himself, in his usual way, the conduct of the more active and dangerous service. When a contravallation around Cyropolis was so far completed that no succor could easily issue to any of the inferior towns, he attacked them one by one, and presently stormed three [18]. All the men were put to death; the women and children were saved for slaves, as part of the booty to reward his army. Measures were taken for preventing information of the fate of these towns from reaching those unattacked; yet such alarm arose, either from intelligence or suspicion, that two were abandoned. Alexander, apprehending this, had so stationed his cavalry that few of the fugitives escaped.

C. 3. His whole force was then assembled against Cyropolis. Assault according to antient art, with battering machines, was preparing, when the channel of a torrent stream running through the town, rough and narrow, yet not impracticable for armed infantry, was observed to be neglected by the garrison, intent upon the expected attack

[18] Arrian says two of those towns were stormed in one day, and the third on the day following; whence it may seem that the word πόλις has not been intended to be taken in the elder Greek sense of the word, a *city*.

on their walls. Thus an enterprize was offered, inviting for Alexander himself. With a few chosen troops he entered without resistance; and, hastening to the nearest gate, opened it, and admitted a large body prepared for the event. Nevertheless the garrison, amounting, according to Arrian, to eighteen thousand men, surprized, but not dismayed, resisted vigorously. Alexander received blows on the head and neck with stones. Craterus and other principal officers, were wounded with arrows. The Scythians however, unable to make head at the same time against the enemies within their walls and entering over them, were overpowered. Eight thousand are said to have been slain; but about ten thousand made their retreat good into the citadel. There, however, (probably through incomplete execution of the great founder's purpose) was no provision of water; so that, on the second day, they found it necessary to surrender. The seventh town was yet held by its garrison, but yielded immediately on Alexander's approach; according to Ptolemy by capitulation; but Aristobulus reported that it was taken by assault, and all the men within put to the sword. Arrian however seems to have thought Ptolemy's account the rather to be trusted, as it proceeded to state, what must have been within that officer's means of knowing, that the prisoners were distributed among the several divisions of the army, to remain in custody; apparently, to be finally led away to slavery; for the historian says it was resolved to leave none behind who had partaken of the revolt.

Alexander's rapidity in his measures for reducing this small branch of the extensive nation of Scythians, subjects, apparently, since its reduction by Cyrus, of the Persian empire, appears to have been

CHAP. LI.

Arr. l. 4. c. 3.

of great importance. Those holding the country on the farther side of the river, so variously named Orxantes, Silys, and Tanaïs, on intelligence received of insurrection of those of their nation within the old Persian boundary, had assembled in arms and alreddy had reached the neighborhood. With information of this threatened hostility from that formidable nation, so eager in pursuit of gain by victory, with so little to lose by defeat, and possessing such reddy means to avoid and still annoy a foe whom they could not resist, intelligence arrived that Spitamenes had revolted, and was actually besieging Paracadi, where Alexander had left a garrison. As, however, the force under Spitamenes was of the freebooting kind, neither regular, nor very numerous, it was thought sufficient to dispatch against him fifteen hundred of the mercenary Grecian foot, with eight hundred horse of the same description, and sixty of that superior and confidential body, the royal companion cavalry. These appear to have had their several proper commanders, Andromachus, Menedemus and Caranus. Whether then through growing favor to Asiatics, or on the supposition that negotiation might succeed with little support from arms, the chief authority was committed to Pharnuches, a Lycian, familiar with the Scythian language, as well as with the Greek, of approved talent for civil business, but without the qualifications of a military commander. Meanwhile the establishment of the proposed colony ingaged Alexander's own attention; and in twenty days, employing all the force with him, he raised works sufficient for its defence against the surrounding people; formidable in the field, but of no skill in the assault of fortifications. He then offered choice for any of the Greek merce-

naries, and those Macedonians who, from age or infirmity, were become less fit for active service, to establish themselves in the place, with permission to associate any of the natives of the country who might be willing. Matters of business being settled, he, according to his custom, ingaged and amused the public mind with religious ceremonies and games, horse-races and gymnic exercises, being exhibited among sacrifices to the gods. SECT. III.

The Scythians of the farther side of the river meanwhile remained incamped near its bank, watching what was going forward. The stream, tho not fordable, was not there so wide but that words might be heard across; and the Scythian soldiers amused themselves with taunting speeches to the Macedonians, telling them 'their king, as 'great a conqueror as he was, dared not invade 'their country, or he would soon be taught the 'difference between Scythians and the southern 'Asiatics.' Words not producing provocation enough, they proceeded to acts, and shot arrows, Arrian does not say over, but into the river. The usual disposition to petulance, among youths with arms in their hands, under a loose discipline, may have produced so much. But the amount of force assembled appeared to indicate, that the Scythian chiefs entertained a hostile jealousy, if not hostile purposes. Alexander therefore resolved to cross the river and at once chastize rather than complain of insolence. Skins were prepared in the usual way to serve as rafts, and the usual sacrifices for ingaging the favor and consulting the will of the gods were performed; Alexander's favorite seer, Aristander of Telmissus, presiding. It appears likely that the principal officers of his army, in concert with the seer, who seems to have been an

CHAP. LI.

able man, apprehended the consequences of their prince's impatience of insult and eagerness for adventure, with the immense wild plains of Tartary before him. The symptoms of the victims however were declared quite unfavorable. Alexander uneasy under the disappointment, nevertheless acquiesced, so far as to defer his purpose. But, the Scythians continuing their provoking conduct, he ordered another sacrifice. Still the symptoms were declared utterly unfavorable, and clearly portending danger. Alexander's temper could then hold no longer: 'It were better,' he said, 'to risk 'the extreme of danger than, after conquering 'almost all Asia, to become a laughingstock for the 'Scythians, as the elder Darius had been.' Aristander answered 'that, however the king might 'desire another interpretation, he himself could 'only declare what was indicated by the divinity.'

Nevertheless Alexander persevered. The artillery, for throwing darts and stones, was moved to the river side, to protect the passage; some of the enemy were wounded; and one, struck with a dart, through both his shield and breast-plate, fell from his horse dead. In evident consternation at this event, all withdrew from the bank, and the Macedonian army passed, Alexander leading. The Scythians seem to have been all cavalry carrying missile weapons. Alexander, knowing that their discipline would not inable them to withstand a regular charge from even an inferior force, hastened against them a division of the allied, and four squadrons of the spearbearing horse. The Scythians, approaching enough to give effect to their missile weapons, avoided a charge by rapidly wheeling: then, taking a circuit, they returned, and again discharged their darts and arrows. Alexander, we

have seen, to answer the exigencies of service against Asiatic cavalry, had formed a small body, trained, after the Asiatic manner, to use missile weapons on horseback. This he now dispatched to support his suffering troops; but he seems to have depended more upon his numerous bowmen, slingers and darters, accustomed, on foot, to act in concert with cavalry. Hastening these forward, he followed himself at the head of all the remainder of his horse. The Scythians finding that they could no longer attack with missile weapons but at the peril of wounds given at equal or greater distance, which disturbed their wheeling, and overtook them in retreat, fled precipitately. Being pursued by the fresh cavalry, about a thousand were killed, and a hundred and fifty taken.

In advanced summer now, as not uncommon in climates where winter is very severe, the heat was violent. Alexander, with his usual eagerness, intent upon revenging the disgrace and loss of the first onset, urged in person the pursuit of the fugitives, till at length, in common with others, he was oppressed with thirst. The country offered water, but of an unwholesome quality, of which he was unaware. Drinking therefore plentifully, he was quickly seized with a disorder of the bowels, such that he was carried back to the camp with his life supposed in danger. The evil however passed, and the advantage resulted, that the credit of the science of prophecy, and the reputation of the seer Aristander, its professor, often found of great convenience, were completely saved; for the danger to the king, supposed to have been portended, was not from the enemy, but from the draught of water.

CHAP. LI.

Not long after, deputies reached Alexander from the king of the Scythians; so Arrian qualifies him, not distinguishing of what portion of the extensive Scythian nation he was soverein. They came directed to apologize for the insults offered to his troops by some outlaws, they said, living by robbery, without warrant of any authority which the body of the Scythian people acknowleged; adding assurance that the king himself was reddy to obey his commands. It seems probable that the Macedonian generals, Arrian's authorities, to magnify their prince, derogated somewhat from the dignity which the king of the Scythians would maintain on the occasion; for that historian proceeds to avow, what indeed the sequel of his narrative evinces, that it would ill have suited Alexander, at that time, to ingage in war with the king of the Scythians. Accordingly the embassy was very civilly received; and, if the offer to obey commands was a Scythian compliment, reälly expressed, it appears to have been judiciously taken as such: for the apology was accepted, and no commands are mentioned to have been returned.

Arrian, l. 4. c. 5.

This accommodation fortunately was completed before intelligence arrived of the greatest disaster which had yet befallen the Macedonian arms. Spitamenes, dispirited by a successful sally of the garrison of Maracanda, and informed that the force under Pharnuches was approaching, raised the siege and retired toward the extensive Scythian downs. Pursued by Pharnuches, he avoided action till he was joined by six hundred Scythian horse; for the herdmen, who occupied the Scythian towns, or, as the Greek word has been commonly expressed, desert, appear to have been all horsemen.

SECT. III.

The Grecian cavalry being then worn with marching, and weak through deficiency of forage, he could avoid their charges while he gave unceasing annoyance to the infantry, with the missile weapons which the Asiatics used so dexterously on horseback. Defence now became the object of Alexander's officers; and they retired to a wood verging on a considerable river, the Polytimetus. But, among them, there was neither just command nor proper concert. Caranus, apparently a Macedonian, without communicating either with the Lycian commander-in-chief, or with the commanders of the mercenary Greeks, probably men of the republics, led his small body of horse across the river. The infantry, seeing themselves thus deserted by that small but superior body of cavalry, without command, hastened after him. Spitamenes, and the Scythians, observing the disorderly movement, proceeded to use advantage offered. The Greeks, some alreddy across, others yet in the river, were so pressed with darts and arrows that they attempted to regain the wood; but being intercepted, they stopped on a small iland. Missile weapons however could reach them there. Many were thus killed, and many others wounded. The survivors, feeling themselves helpless, surrendered at discretion, and all were put to death.

This appears to have been Ptolemy's account. Aristobulus attributed the misfortune to the deficient arrangement of command, on which, it may be supposed, Ptolemy, a favorite of Alexander, would avoid comment. When difficulty arose, Pharnuches, according to Aristobolus, avowing himself incompetent, as little versed in military affairs, and rather appointed for a civil business, desired to commit the military command to the proper military

CHAP. LI.

officers. But these hesitated to take upon themselves, in circumstances highly threatening, a responsibility not regularly theirs; and, before any thing was settled, the enemy was upon them. Of the whole force, about forty horse only and three hundred foot, according to Aristobolus, escaped.

Intelligence of this event vehemently affected Alexander. With the utmost of his usual zeal and activity, he took himself the command of a chosen body, and, understanding that Spitamenes was approaching Maracanda, to renew the siege, he hastened thither. By extraordinary exertion, at the dawn of the fourth day, he reached the city. Spitamenes, informed of his approach, had withdrawn toward the Scythian downs. Alexander, urging pursuit to the utmost ability of his troops, was however unable to overtake him. His next care therefore was to find the field of battle in which the force under Pharnuches had suffered, and to perform those rites of burial for the bodies, the importance of which, in the opinion of the Greeks, we have observed so often strongly marked. After this he gave a loose to revenge, wasting all the cultivated country on the banks of the river Polytimetus, whose inhabitants, he was informed, had joined those of the downs in the destruction of his troops.

SECTION IV.

Recruits to Alexander's Army. Cruel Treatment of Bessus. Difficulties for Alexander arising from his Successes. Embassies from Scythian and other Northern Princes.

WINTER then approaching, which, in that country sets in early, and is often early severe, he moved

for quarters to the city of Zariaspa, said by Strabo to be the same with that commonly called by Arrian, and other Grecian writers, Bactra. There he was presently joined by his satrap of Parthia, Phrataphernes, and his general Stasanor, whom he had sent together to quell the second rebellion of the Areians. They appear to have been completely successful, bringing in custody Arsames, whom Bessus had commissioned as his satrap of Parthia, and other chiefs, his associates. About the same time powerful reinforcements arrived, to supply the losses sustained in long and difficult marches and numerous actions, since the last from the western countries joined at Susa. They consisted of three thousand foot, and five hundred horse, from Syria, commanded by Asclepiodorus; equal numbers of each from Lycia, probably collected among the Greek cities of Asia, by Asander and Nearchus; seven thousand five hundred foot, and five hundred horse, sent by Antipater from Greece, where the levy probably would be easier for the recently finished war with Lacedæmon. Beside these Ptolemy, distinguished among the several of that name as general of the Thracians, brought three thousand foot and one thousand horse; probably Greeks and others, raised in the provinces south of Lesser Asia. If, in the failure of Arrian to mention the numbers, Curtius may be trusted for them, likely to be not exact, yet not imaginary, but given from some authority, the whole would be sixteen thousand five hundred foot and two thousand five hundred horse.

SECT. IV.

Arrian, l. 4. c. 7. Strab. l. 11. p. 514, 516.

Arr. l. 4. c. 7. Q. Curt. l. 7. c. 10.

The assemblage thus at head quarters would be numerous, of persons of all ranks of both nations, when Bessus was brought, apparently after the Macedonian manner, before all in congress. The

CHAP. II. treatment of him, however, was rather after the Asiatic manner, arbitrary and cruel. No mention is made of any form of trial. He was reproached before the numerous meeting, with his perfidy to Darius: then his nose and ears were cut off; and in that mangled state he was sent to Ecbatana, to be treated according to the law or the pleasure of those Medes and Persians there[14], who, apparently having been, or being supposed to have been, faithful to Darius living, had after his death been admitted to some favor by Alexander.

On this proceeding Arrian has declared his own sentiment: 'Such extravagant punishment,' he says, 'I cannot commend. Mutilation of the body 'in that manner is of the spirit of barbarians; and 'I am inclined to think that Alexander was led to 'it by a growing disposition to emulate the Median 'and Persian pomp of power, and ostentation of 'superiority over vassal princes.' The historian, no doubt, will have credit here with the modern reader: and, considering his situation in the Roman empire, he will also have excuse for overlooking the monstrous cruelties of the renowned Roman republicans to conquered princes, of which the fate of the king of Numidia, Jugurtha, is a prominent example, while he refers to the practice, in no accounts more atrocious, of the Medes and Persians. But those crimes which we denominate High Treason, and especially the extreme of them, Regicide, tending to the most violent disturbance of the quiet of

[14] Ἐν τῷ Μήδων καὶ Περσῶν ξυλλόγῳ ἀποθανούμενον.—Arr. l. 4. c. 7. p. 159. Gronovius understands ξύλλογος here to mean the same as ξύνοδος. It seems to me uncertain and not very important; Arrian himself probably having known little of the Median and Persian constitution and law, and therefore not meaning to define any particular kind of assembly.

nations, require, in mercy to millions, severity to one or a few. Hence the mode and measure of punishment for those crimes, even in modern ages, in some countries by the law itself (which nevertheless, as in our own, practice has mitigated) in others by arbitrary decision for the occasion, as in two memorable instances in France, have been carried to a severity at which the philosophic mind is apt to revolt. Yet what should be the mode and measure, appears to be among questions proposed by Providence for trial of mankind, not to be by human wisdom exactly decided. For the punishment said to have been ordered by Alexander himself, the historian's censure will hardly be controverted; but, for leaving the regicide to Persian law or practice, if approbation be denied, excuse however apparently may with reason be demanded. SECT. IV.

Arrian has taken this occasion for noticing some other matters of Alexander's conduct, in his arduous situation, on which opinions antient and modern, have been divided. 'Nor can I,' he says, 'anyhow approve his assuming the Median dress 'instead of the Macedonian; he of the race of 'Hercules; and changing, for the Persian turban, 'the covering which he, the conqueror of the 'Persians, had been accustomed to wear.' Against Arrian, an eminent modern, Montesquieu, has warmly eulogized, not indeed the cruelty to Bessus, but the adoption of Persian customs, which Arrian has blamed. To judge between them it must be considered that Alexander's circumstances were such as never before occurred, from the beginning of the world, as far as history shows, nor since. When the disposition of that extraordinary conqueror to become Persian, in dress and manners, was first manifested, Arrian

Arr. l. 4. c. 27.

Esp. des loix, l. 1. c. 13.

CHAP. LI.

has not said. According to Diodorus, and Curtius, and Plutarch, it began almost immediately on the acquisition of Babylon, and was not a little incouraged and emulated by some of the younger officers in high situations about him, and especially by Philotas. Since the age of twenty Alexander had seen little of Macedonia, and from twenty-two when he passed into Asia, to now, toward twenty-seven, had never been near it. His immense acquisitions of dominion would be, and clearly ought to be, important in his consideration; and the consideration was of a magnitude and difficulty such as never occurred to any other man. That his prudence in the business was consummate, as the sage Montesquieu's concise eulogy may imply, will hardly be generally admitted; yet that large allowance should be made for failure of perfection, in the very difficult decision, candor must allow.

For the manner in which Bessus was put to death at Ecbatana accounts vary. That it was cruel, it is to be feared may be believed; and if more light is not to be obtained on the particulars, it will be little regretted by the generous reader.

Arrian, l. 4. c. 15.

During Alexander's winter residence in Zariaspa, his ambassadors to the Scythian courts returned, accompanied by an embassy from the king of the Europeän-Scythians. During their mission the reigning king of Europeän-Scythia had died in the course of nature, and the ambassadors, now arriving, came commissioned by his brother, who had succeeded to the throne. They brought, from that prince, presents, such as among the Scythians were esteemed most valuable, with a declaration, that he was reddy to obey Alexander's commands; offering him, for cementing alliance,

his daughter in marriage, or, should that be disdained, the daughters of his nobles, or, in Arrian's phrase, his satraps, for Alexander's confidential ministers and officers; and adding, that if Alexander's will might be so signified, he would come himself to take his commands. Perhaps here, as perhaps also on other occasions, in translating a forein language into Greek, the compliment may have been somewhat exaggerated. SECT. IV.

Nearly about the same time Pharasmanes, styled king of the Chorasmies, came in person, with an escort of fifteen hundred horse, to wait upon Alexander. His country, he said, bordered upon that of the Colchians and of the Amazonian women[15], (information marking how little it was before known to the Greeks) and, if Alexander desired to subdue the Colchians and Amazons, and other people near the Euxine sea, he would himself guide his army through the country, and undertake for abundant supplies. Alexander received all graciously. The offer of marriages he declined; but he concluded with Pharasmanes a treaty of friendship and alliance. At the same time he declared that 'his views would not allow 'him immediately to march himself westward: 'that he proposed first to bring India under his 'dominion; and, being so master of all Asia, '(such is Arrian's phrase) he would then return 'to Greece, and thence direct his measures for 'the reduction of the people around the Euxine 'sea.' For that season he desired Pharasmanes to reserve himself under the ingagements made. 'In the mean time,' he said, 'his Persian friend 'Artabazus, who was well acquainted with that

[15] Ταις γυναιξὶ ταῖς Ἀμαζόσιν. Arr. l. 4. c. 15.

CHAP. LI.

'part of the world, should accompany Pharas-'manes in his return westward, and all the satraps 'in that line of country should be required to 'afford him friendly accommodation.'

The epithet JUST, by which Homer, in earliest, and Arrian, in late times, have described the Scythians, and the philosophical character attributed to them by authors of ages between them, may seem to be rendered doubtful by the indications of barbarism, also occurring in the imperfect historical memorials of them which have reached us. Not simply however the epithet, but Arrian's narrative, who must have had knowlege of their descendants in his own age, seems to afford some warrant for the favoring reports. The passage of Alexander's ministers through the country of the Asiatic, to the residence of the king of the Europeän-Scythians, and their return, indicates order among the people; and the apology of the Asiatic prince, for the unprovoked aggression on Alexander's troops, appears to mark government more regular, and people more civilized, than the Scythian generally have been described. But the same writer's account of the Nomad-Scythians, and especially the character asserted to have been given of them by the soverein of a large portion of the nation, assist to show the ground of the differences observable in different accounts, of that widely-spred people. For the Amazons, here first mentioned in Arrian's narrative, remark may best be reserved for an occasion on which we find him entering into some discussion of the reports transmitted by other writers concerning them.

SECTION V.

Different Character of Northern and Southern People of the Persian Empire. New Rebellion of the Sogdians under Spitamenes. Death of Spitamenes, and final Reduction of the Sogdians.

SECT. V.

THE contrast between the stubborn people of the north and the submissive millions of the southern provinces of the Persian empire, who, while their monarch was yet living and preparing to repair his losses, yielded to the conqueror without a struggle, and remained apparently satisfied with the new dominion, continues yet to become more strongly marked. The Sogdians again rose in rebellion. Refusing obedience to the satrap appointed by Alexander, a great proportion of them withdrew to strong holds[16]. In these few words of Arrian, is indicated the foundation of the striking difference of character. In the south, an immense population, in large proportion artizans and manufacturers, all wholly unpractised in arms, were in the habit of depending, for security of person and property, both against fellowsubjects and forein enemies, upon others, to whom, under direction of their king and his officers, the profession of arms was peculiar. In the north, on the contrary, a scantier population, husbandmen, herdmen, and hunters, were in the habit of reckoning arms among necessaries, and of depending, for safety, private and public, much on themselves. Such men necessarily would be respected by those in authority over them, and thence would hold a considerable amount of freedom: not insured, as far as appears, by any regular constitution of govern-

Arrian, l. 4. c. 15, 16.

[16] —εἰς τὰ ἐρύματα. Arr. l. 4. c. 15.

CHAP. LI.

ment, but by the power which arms in their hands, and the need of their chiefs for their service, gave. Practice in arms, we have observed, under hereditary chiefs, had preserved the freedom of the Macedonian people under their monarchal constitution. A state of things, not the same, yet considerably similar, appears to have maintained the independent spirit, and an effectual freedom, among the northern subjects of the Persian empire. If the Macedonian government was more irregular and undefined than that eulogized by Tacitus, which our Teutonic forefathers established for the basis of the English constitution, that of the Asiatics appears to have been still more irregular and undefined. Yet, from the freedom they injoyed through the means which arms in their hands gave, seems to have flowed the attachment to their monarch, and aversion to a forein dominion, beyond what was found among the people of the south.

Arrian, l. 3. c. 16.

The Sogdian war thus required the employment of the whole army, with which, after subduing the Persian empire, Alexander had proposed the immediate prosecution of conquest beyond its bounds. For the example of the Sogdians immediately stimulated neighboring people, actuated by similar principles. A portion of the Bactrians presently joined in revolt, and the disposition was supposed extensive through that country. A large force therefore was left under Polysperchon, Attalus, Gorgias, and Meleager; principally as a body of observation, for the rising yet was small. Alexander led the rest of his army against the Sogdians. Arriving in their country, he divided his force into five parts. Under the command severally of Hephæstion, Ptolemy son of Lagus, Perdiccas, and Cœnus, but associating in authority with them his

venerable Persian friend Artabazus, he placed four divisions, for reducing the towns and fastnesses held by the insurgents. With the remaining division he went himself toward Maracanda, the capital of the province, where he had a garrison. SECT. V.

The people of these countries were more skilful in desultory war in the field, than in the defence of walls or strong positions, against the Grecian art of attack. The four generals soon reduced all the places of refuge within Sogdia; but, of the people, many had fled, with or after Spitamenes, to the Scythian wilderness. This is not, like the southern deserts, an ocean of driving sand; but rather, in some parts, resembling Bagshot heath, in others the Cheviot highlands or Salisbury plain; affording firm footing for cattle, and not wholly denying pasture. Alexander therefore detached Cœnus and Artabazus against the Scythians, while, to insure the future obedience of the Sogdians, Hephæstion was employed in establishing colonies of his veteran soldiers and others, in the principal towns of the country.

The apparent inconsistency in the conduct of Spitamenes, who had so essentially served Alexander by delivering Bessus to him, and then became presently and perseveringly hostile, is not accounted for; but that he was an active, bold, and able enemy is evident. The Sogdians, who fled from Alexander's arms, found, among the Massagete-Scythians, a kind reception, which, apparently, Spitamenes had prepared for them. The Massagetes were a plundering hord, generally reddy for adventure. Spitamenes persuaded six hundred horsemen of them to join his Sogdians for an inroad into Bactria. There he surprized a Macedonian garrison, made the governor prisoner, put to death

CHAP. LI.

all of inferior rank who could not escape by flight, because numerous prisoners were inconvenient, and then proceeded toward Zariaspa, the capital. The garrison there, as Arrian's account implies, was only about eighty mercenary horse, with a few of the body of royal Macedonian youths, and some of the royal companions, left for recovery of health; most however so far convalescent as to be able to mount their horses and use arms. This slender force then being found alert, the irregular enemy would not venture attack upon the town, but directed their measures to plundering the surrounding country. Frequently in accounts of military operations by military men, such as Arrian (those of others would prove nothing) we find deficient arrangement of gradation in command in Grecian armies; and sometimes such a sort of republican equality that there was no proper commander. So we have seen it in the recent disaster to Alexander's troops in Scythia; and so, in Arrian's account, it appears to have been here. The only persons, in Zariaspa, of consequence enough to be named by the historian, were Peithon, son of Sosicles, intitled chief of the king's household, and Aristonicus, a singer[17]. The enemy was seen dispersed for collection of booty. On consultation all agreed to go out and attack them. The bold measure succeeded so far that, killing many, they put the rest to flight, collected the booty, perhaps mostly cattle, and returned with it toward Zariaspa. But the Scythians, the able Spitamenes being with them, soon recovering from the dismay of surprize, ob-

[17] Κιθαρῳδὸς a singer to the harp or lyre. This seems to mark nearly the character of the minstrel of early modern ages.

served their enemy's march, which says Arrian, was disorderly, as being under no regular command; and, on account of their convoy, it was necessarily slow. Getting before them, unperceived, they placed themselves in ambush, at which they were expert, it being their common mode of attack. With superior numbers then, falling on the Macedonians by surprize, they killed sixty of the mercenary horse, and seven of the royal companions: Peithon wounded, was carried of a prisoner; Aristonicus, acting, says Arrian, beyond what might be expected of one of his profession, as a brave soldier, or, in the Greek phrase, a good man, died fighting[18]. The result, tho not stated by the historian, of course would be, that the booty before taken was recovered by the victors, and that they might, without immediate danger, extend their maroding. SECT. V.

As soon as intelligence of this reached Cœnus[19], he proceeded against the Massagetes. Informed of his approach, they hastened toward the desert; but, their booty apparently making their march slow, he overtook them. Meanwhile they had been joined by about a thousand Massagete cavalry. With this reïnforcement standing an action, they maintained it stoutly; but superior discipline prevailed. About a hundred and fifty Scythians were killed: the vigor of their horses and acquaintance with the country inabled the rest to save them- Arrian, l. 4. c. 17.

[18] Οὐ κατὰ καθαρωδὸν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γενόμενος. Arr. l. 4. c. 16.

[19] Polysperchon, Attalus, Gorgias, and Meleager, were commanders for defence of Bactria; Cœnus and Artabazus were sent against the Scythians. Considering what follows, in Arrian, c. 17, it seems nearly clear that for *Craterus* here should be red *Cœnus*; yet Craterus is mentioned again, c. 18, as if associated in command with Cœnus.

CHAP. LI.

selves by flight; but their booty would be finally lost.

B.C. 329, 328. Ol. 113. 1. Winter now approaching, the known severity of the climate, and the daring and persevering activity of an enemy singularly formed to disturb neighboring countries in all seasons, tho without strength to protect their own, admonished to the measures which followed. The large experience, the powerful influence, and the tried fidelity and honor of the veteran satrap Artabazus, gave him a value which Alexander appears to have estimated justly, and cherished accordingly. But the fatigue of the government of a frontier province, like Bactria, with a turbulent population, exposed to the intrigues and possibly the attacks of such enemies as Spitamenes and the Scythians, being too much for his years, he desired to resign it, and Alexander appointed a Macedonian, Amyntas son of Nicolaus, in his room. His own winter residence he took at Nautaca in Sogdiana, the most northern province of his acquired empire.

Arrian, l. 4. c. 18.

Meanwhile Spitamenes was in uneasy circumstances. There was no longer safety for him in Bactria or Sogdiana, but with an armed force; and he could no longer keep an armed force together than while he could provide for it the allurement of plunder. A bold attempt was therefore necessary, and without delay. Within the Sogdian territory, but upon the verge of the Massagete-Scythian downs, was a town, of name variously written by the Greeks, Gabæ or Bagæ, strongly situated on the Oxus, where it divides Sogdiana from Bactria. There he induced the Scythians to join him, to the number of three thousand horsemen; which, says Arrian, was not difficult, because that people having neither towns, nor any settled

Arr. ut sup. Strab. ibid. l. 517.

habitation, feared little for anything they had to lose, and were urged by want to use arms, always in their hands, for gain. SECT. V.

Alexander had committed the military command, within the two frontier provinces of Sogdiana and Bactria, to his approved, and now oldest general, Cœnus. That officer, informed of the measures of Spitamenes, marched to meet him. A sharp conflict insuing, the Macedonians remained conquerors, with the loss, it is reported, of only twenty-five horsemen, and twelve foot-soldiers. Above eight hundred of the enemy, all cavalry, were said to be killed. In the flight of the survivors, Spitamenes was deserted by most of his Bactrian and Sogdian followers. Not disposed to the life of the wandering Scythians, or to change their fruitful lands for new settlements in the Scythian wilderness, they sent offers of submission to the conqueror, which Cœnus accepted. The Scythians then, disappointed of the plunder which they hoped to have carried off for their winter subsistence, deserted by their allies, threatened with invasion of their country by a prince who could command the service of numbers, used, as they were, to the rigor of climate, and thus, for themselves and their horses, which they valued almost equally with themselves, apprehensive of starving, cut off the head of Spitamenes, and sent it, as a propitiatory present, to Alexander.

Thus was ended the little yet troublesome war with the wild borderers, which had so long ingaged the rapid conqueror of the Persian empire.

SECTION VI.

Circumstances of Scythia. Country between Media and Scythia. Siege of the Hill-Fort of Oxyartes. Marriage of Alexander with Roxana, daughter of Oxyartes. Conquest of the Persian Empire completed.

CHAP. LI.

THE smallness of the numbers attributed to the enemy, in all the many ingagements, mostly allowed to have been sharply contested, is no inconsiderable warranty of the fairness of the reports which have reached us of these transactions. The Scythians, ancestors of those whom we now call Tartars, holding the same extensive country, are universally so described that the modern Tartars seem to have inherited their character and manners, transmitted through so many generations, unchanged. What we might principally desire to know of them, beyond what has been transmitted, is the state of the two great kingdoms of Asiatic-Scythia, and Europeän-Scythia, indicated, as they are, to have been held by people more settled and more civilized than those who wandered over, rather than possessed, what the Greeks called the Desert. All accounts mark the Scythians of those two kingdoms for a free people; and it may seem to have been a superior civilization, under a free yet regular government, which produced that superiority of character, whence some writers have represented the Scythians altogether as a nation of philosophers; while others, led by the more striking peculiarities of character and manners of the Scythians of the Desert, have considered those peculiarities as forming the general character of the nation. It seems however evident that, tho, in very antient times,

SECT. VI.

Scythia may have sent out the hords of whose destructive emigrations uncertain rumor only reached the age of letters, yet no Scythian kingdom ever was able to contend for superiority with the Persian empire. The establishment, in their country, of the great Cyrus's colony, which the Greeks, apparently translating the Persian name, called Cyropolis, proves the successful exertion of his superior power; and the subsistence of that colony, and of the Persian dominion over it, till it yielded to Alexander, satisfactorily shows the continued existence of very superior means in that empire, among all its troubles, and with all the occasional misrule and weakness of its government in later times. Thus then we find four distinctions of Scythians clearly marked; the Europeän kingdom, the Asiatic kingdom, the wanderers of the Desert, and the people of the Persian province. That the freebooting Scythians were always alarming, often highly annoying to the Persian borders, appears not doubtful. That they were difficult to be dealt with, and hardly to be bound by treaties, may also be believed. To them honesty was unprofitable; war the source of wealth and injoyment. But the Scythian kingdoms had within their bounds some of the most fruitful portions of the earth. To them therefore peace was valuable, and a reputation for good faith an important possession. Accordingly it appears that they maintained peace and good faith with Alexander.

In the course of the winter, Cœnus, who had commanded against the Sogdians and their Scythian allies, and Stasanor, who had commanded in Areia, and Phrataphernes, satrap of Parthia, returned to head-quarters at Nautacá, reporting the complete execution of the businesses severally com- Arrian, l. 4. c. 18.

CHAP. LI.

mitted to them. We have seen it Alexander's policy in his outset, apparently on just consideration, to intrust the highest commands under him, military or civil, only to Macedonians, bred under his father. But early in his career of conquest in Asia, ernest to conciliate the conquered people, he had committed to the great among them high and even critical authority. To hold the attachment of the republican Greeks was also evidently much in his consideration. At the same time then that he was liberal in favor to the Persians, he brought republican Greeks also forward, and put them more upon a footing with the Macedonian great. That some of all descriptions would disappoint his hopes might be expected. Phradates, a Persian, his satrap of Mardia and Topira, repeatedly sent for, had failed to come. Nevertheless Alexander employed a Persian, Phrataphernes, with whose conduct in Parthia he had found reason to be satisfied, to bring him to obedience. Exodates, to whom he had committed the great and important satrapy of Media, had exhibited symptoms of disaffection. Another Persian, Atropates, was sent to supersede him. Diodorus and Curtius have reported some instances of mutiny among the republican Greek mercenaries, and the desertion of a considerable body, with their officers, when, after having shared largely of the riches of the southern provinces, severe service in the northern was before them. Not improbably Ptolemy and Aristobulus would avoid mention of such a circumstance, and therefore Arrian might avoid it. But as among the Macedonians themselves loyalty was not so universal, or so certain, but that some of those most highly intrusted had been condemned for high treason, it was perhaps altogether the safest, as well as the most liberal

policy, to divide high favor and high confidence among men of the several nations of the empire. Accordingly Eumenes, a Greek of Cardia in Thrace, whose superior talents and satisfactory conduct had earned him Alexander's favor in the confidential office of his principal secretary, was raised to high military rank, and intrusted occasionally with great commands. Stasanor who had executed satisfactorily the business in Areia, was a Greek of Soli in Cyprus. He was now appointed to command in Drangia. The government of Babylonia becoming vacant by the death of Mazæus, formerly in high situation under Darius, was given to Stamenes, apparently a Macedonian. Sopolis, Epocillus, and Menœdas, also probably Macedonians, were dispatched home, to conduct thence recruits for the army. SECT. VI.

The countries between Tartary and the great eastern desert abounded in military posts of uncommon strength, such as in India our armies have frequently had to contend for; small rocky hills, precipitous on all sides. Habitual confidence in these fortresses, some of which, never known to have yielded to an enemy, were deemed impregnable, incouraged, some principal men of those parts, how otherwise incited does not appear, to join in revolt against the conqueror. Oxyartes, an eminent Bactrian chief, had submitted to Alexander. Nevertheless, with many Bactrians, having ingaged numerous Sogdians in his party, he took possession of a hill-fort in the highlands of Sogdiana, introduced large store of provisions, and placed his family there as in a situation of certain security, while himself, without, took measures for extending insurrection. About the same time, Chorienes, an associated chief, took possession of a post of congenial

Strab. et Arr. var. in loc.

Arr. l. 4. c. 18.

CHAP. LI.

character in the adjoining province of Parætacene, while two others, Catanes and Austanes, excited the Parætacs to a general rising.

Arr. l. 4. c. 21.

The view of extraordinary difficulties appears always to have stimulated the ardent mind of Alexander: easy enterprizes had little gratification for him: to overcome what to others had been insuperable was his delight. The siege of the fort of Oxyartes, in all seasons an arduous undertaking, was now the more so, as, in its lofty country, winter still lingered when spring had invited to move from Nautaca: on approaching the fort, it was found still surrounded by deep snow. According to the liberal practice of modern Europe, little known among the republican Greeks, Alexander, before attacking, summoned it; offering protection for those within, if they would surrender and go to their several homes. Such liberality seems to have been as little common among the Asiatics as among the republican Greeks, and therefore perhaps was mistrusted. A scoffing answer was returned, signifying that Alexander should seek some winged soldiers; for the garrison feared no others. Perhaps this imprudent joke suggested the course that Alexander took. His means to reward were great, and, for obtaining a favorite purpose, his liberality little bounded. He caused proclamation to be made, that he who, first of a storming party, reached the top of the rock should receive twelve talents, near two thousand five hundred pounds, and who last, three hundred darics, about two hundred pounds. Zeal was thus enough excited, and volunteers abounded. But Alexander would not leave the business to blind zeal. Among the multitude offering, diligent inquiry was made for those most practised in climbing mountains, and in mounting

Arr. l. 4. c. 19.

SECT. VI.

the walls of places besieged, of whom three hundred were chosen. One side of the rock was so lofty and precipitous that, ascent being supposed impossible, no watch was kept by the garrison. There the chosen three hundred, supplied with iron pins and short ropes, going to work early in the night, drove their pins; here into frozen snow, there into crevices of the rocks, and, with their ropes assisting oneanother, mounted. About thirty, losing hold and footing, fell, and perhaps perished: the rest reached the summit before day-break. Alexander, assured by signal of their success, with his army prepared for assault against the less precipitous part of the hill, again summoned the Indians to surrender; informing them that his winged soldiers had already possession of the summit of their rock. In extreme surprize and consternation, on having ascertained that it was so, without waiting, and probably not having means immediately, to know the number of those who had so unaccountably mounted, the garrison surrendered at discretion; and the family of Oxyartes became Alexander's prisoners.

It seems probable that when the family of Darius were taken, none of his daughters were of marriageable age. His wife, as formerly mentioned, had reputation among the Greeks as the most beautiful woman of the empire; and Alexander, with a sense of honor that has justly earned him universal eulogy, had treated her, while she lived, as a sacred charge. But Oxyartes had a daughter marriageable; said, by those of Alexander's officers who were supposed to have seen both, to have been, after Darius's queen, the most beautiful of women. With her, as with the rest of her family, Alexander did not scruple to make honorable acquaintance;

CHAP. LI.

and intercourse produced a passion, which he proposed honorably to gratify by marrying her. Inducement, beyond personal beauty, not stated by the historian, seems yet, in the progress of his narrative, in some degree implied; and, tho the resolution were hasty, yet its connection with political purposes, previously entertained, appears probable. Communicating on it with his friends, Craterus, to whom latterly he had most intrusted high and difficult military commands, dissuaded it strongly. On the contrary, Hephæstion, in whom he most confided as a personal friend, incouraged it. To the Europeäns generally, unless to some who had taken or desired to take Asiatic wives, it was offensive; but to Alexander's new and now far most numerous subjects, it was highly grateful. The lady's father was still in arms against him, yet the wedding was quickly solemnized.

Circumstances followed which would assist, in argument, the favorers of the connection, tho among the Greeks it could not be esteemed otherwise than irregular. Probably Alexander had good information of the character of Oxyartes, who, it appears, had confidence in that of Alexander. Presently he offered submission, which was accepted, and he was received with honor and kindness. It remained then to reduce the revolters in Parætacenè; the most southerly of those provinces which had demonstrated a rebellious disposition; bordering on the richer countries of quieter population, to which the soldier chiefly looked for the reward of his dangers and sufferings among the rough people, in the rough climate where the army now was. That war therefore would be, in the mind of all, an important business. The mountaineer Parætacs are described by Strabo as a nation of rob-

Arr. l. 4. c. 21.

bers, living chiefly by plunder, and confiding in their fastnesses for security against punishment for their aggressions. The lowlanders, or rather inhabitants of the more level highlands, were more numerous, and had more property to defend; but were nevertheless addicted to predatory excursions, and thence practised in arms. These had joined in the revolt, or perhaps were principal in it; confiding for defence against the conqueror of the Persian empire, principally in the extraordinary circumstances of a hill-fort within their plains. The height of the insulated eminence, if the number in our copies of Arrian may be taken for correct, is more than a mile; the measure probably being intended not of the perpendicular, but of the slope, or, perhaps of the ordinary way of ascent: the circuit was about two miles; clift on all sides. One path only led to the summit, formed by art, narrow, and for a single person difficult, even tho none opposed. To check military approaches a deep ditch had been formed around the foot of the hill. SECT. VI.

For the engineer's art, however, to meet these difficulties the neighboring mountains bore an inexhaustible supply of fir-trees. In felling and conveying these the whole army, beyond camp-guards, was employed by reliefs. Galleries, framed in the day, were erected in the night, and covered with earth, for security against fire; and shortly the edifice attained such a height that missile weapons from it might reach the besieged, from assailants hid by their defences. Then the garrison, who at first had scoffed at the work, became so seriously alarmed, that their chief, Chorienes, sent a request to Alexander, that Oxyartes might be permitted to come to confer with him. This was granted.

CHAP. LI.

Oxyartes declared to Chorienes his opinion that no place was impregnable to Alexander and his army, and no advantage not to be expected from his friendship and generosity. Upon this the Parætac chief, without more negotiation, taking some of his family and principal associates with him, went and surrendered himself to Alexander, who did not disappoint Oxyartes's promise. Chorienes, remaining with some of his company, sent some back into the fort with orders for its surrender, which were obeyed. Alexander, curious to see the place, went himself, with an escort of five hundred hypaspists, to take possession. Restoring then the fort to Chorienes, he appointed him also to the command of all the neighboring country which he had before commanded.

This war against the revolted highlanders, with the sieges of the two extraordinary fortresses, and the intervening nuptials, for which some leisure would be taken, appear to have consumed the summer, so that before Chorienes surrendered, much snow had fallen, and the besieging army was suffering from both cold and scarcity. Chorienes, in just return for Alexander's generosity, gave a plentiful supply from the store in his fort, and ingaged to furnish salted meat and other eatables for two months, if wanted, avowing, or perhaps boasting, that so not a tenth of what had been prepared for the siege would be consumed.

Arr. l. 4. c. 22.

Catanes and Austanes, yet maintained, in Parætacene, what they would call the cause of their country, but the Macedonians, rebellion. Alexander sent a body against them under Craterus. Their force evidently was not large; for, standing a battle, acknowleged to have been warmly contested, their loss in killed is stated at no more than

a hundred and twenty horse and fifteen hundred foot. Nevertheless Catanes being among the slain, and Austanes among the prisoners, the rebellion was completely quelled, and thus ended resistance to Alexander's command of all that had been the Persian, now the Macedonian or Grecian empire. SECT. VI.

To establish order in the northern provinces, and to prepare for the farther conquests which he meditated, Alexander then returned into Bactriana, and took his head-quarters in Bactra, otherwise called Zariaspa, the capital.

CHAPTER LII.

Controversy on the Kingly Office and Dignity: Trials for High Treason. War prosecuted by Alexander beyond the Bounds of the Persian Empire.

SECTION I.

Republican Greek Philosophers following Alexander's Court: Controversy on the Kingly Office and Dignity.

CHAP. LII.

When it is considered that with such scanty power in the outset, Alexander's conquests now exceeded, both in extent and rapidity of achievement, all that history reports before him, and all that, in more than two thousand years, has occurred in the world since, it may rather appear matter for admiration that, at his early age, now but about his twenty-sixth year, he preserved so long so much moderation and prudence, than if, at length, moderation and prudence failed. But, far as those conquests had led him from Greece, among people of very different manners, policy, and prejudices, very many times outnumbering the conquering nation, it seems obvious that a reasonable policy might urge him to assume to be, in all points, as great as those before him on the Persian throne, or rather greater; and this, not on his own account only, but, for the sake of establishing, for the comparatively few thousands

SECT. I.

of Greeks about him, a permanent command over the almost numberless millions become, with them, his subjects, but their inferiors. At the same time the constitutional freedom, the habits of simplicity, the accustomed familiarity with their kings, and the constitutional control over them, which all accounts mark to have been established among the Macedonians, would make the pursuit of this policy difficult. Nor would the difficulty be lessened by the conflicting politics of the Grecian republicans. These were numerous about him; and, in stationary quarters, not only military men but others, and especially men eminent in science and litterature. Alexander's policy, in his first invasion of Asia, led him, as we have seen, to profess himself the patron of democracy; less probably fearing inconvenience to result from such a policy, not so much because his master Aristotle held democracy to be the kind of government most congenial with tyranny, but as he would know that, of all the republics of Greece, some of the Peloponnesian democracies had been most attached to his father, and even extravagant in court and adulation to him.

Arist. Polit. l. 4. c. 6. & 7. Ch. 40. s. 2. of this History. Demosth. de leg. p. 424, 425.

The choice of line then for him to pursue, when become master of the Persian empire, was of difficulty, such that perhaps the ablest of modern politicians would be at a loss to say, either what was the course most for his own interest, or what for that of the Grecian confederacy of which he was the elected head; and, perhaps yet more, what for a just performance of the weighty and quite new duty incumbent on him, the protection of uncounted millions become his subjects by his conquests. On ascending the splendid throne, in which he superseded the long list of the Persian,

CHAP. LII.

Median, and Assyrian dynasties, tracing their pretensions from the first conqueror known in history, to adopt in some degree oriental habits, and assume oriental state, was a policy which a view to interest, and to the welfare of all about him, probably would concur with inclination to press upon him. In making the hazardous change, however, he did not proceed hastily. Arrian does not, like some other antient writers, more careless of just authority, assert that Alexander himself was the first to promote the requisition, either of that form of salutation, in approaching him, too nearly in the manner of adoration to the Deïty, which had been, from time immemorial, rigorously required of all in approaching the Persian kings, nor that he himself first broached the absurd notion that he was the son, not of Philip, but of Jupiter Ammon. Among the Greeks, whom the fame of his conquests, of his liberality, and of his patronage of arts and litterature, had drawn to his distant court, and who had followed its wanderings, opposition of sentiment, much arising from opposition of interest, had produced division into parties; and some recommended and applauded, perhaps too much without reserve, the adoption of oriental manners and customs, while others too rigorously insisted upon the strict maintenance of Grecian habits and practices, in circumstances in which they would never have arisen, and for which they were so utterly unadapted that perhaps they could no way be established. But in his ernest purpose of conciliating his new subjects, Alexander had clearly made a progress of no small importance to all those, of his old subjects, who looked to profit from the establishment of his new empire. Among these, however, Macedo-

nians, his subjects by inheritance, and Greeks of the republics, his subjects by their own election, between whom he seems to have made the least distinction that might be, by the perhaps reasonable attachments of some, and the unreasonable prejudices and extravagant desires of others, that purpose was thwarted. SECT. I.

We have, from Arrian, report of discussion on this important and curious matter, said to have occurred in Alexander's presence, and given as the best selection that historian could make, among varying and contradictory reports in his time extant, derived from persons present. The care which Arrian continually manifests to use his best judgement in comparing accounts, and the evidence his work altogether affords of his desire to maintain a just impartiality, are here eminent. The illustration therefore of the manners of Alexander's court, which his report affords, especially marking freedom of communication and conversation in the king's presence and with himself, make it highly interesting; and the more from the consideration that the author held high office in the Roman empire, in an age when science and philosophy most florished, and when, nevertheless, for a previous century and half, divine honors had been attributed to the sovereins[1]; nor were discontinued till the adoption of Christianity, for the religion of the state, extinguished the impious absurdity.

Anaxarchus and Callisthenes, both subjects of the Macedonian monarchy, the former as a citizen Arr. ibid. Plut. v. Alex. p. 694. e.

[1] Virgil's flattery in this fulsome and impious way, is, I think, the earliest that has reached us. Horace has preserved so much more of a better school as to reflect credit on his patron Mæcænas, and on Augustus himself.

CHAP. LII.

of Abdera, the latter of Olynthus[2], were the most eminent among the philosophers of Alexander's train, leaders of the two adverse political sects. Anaxarchus is represented as a courtier, a flatterer of the great, qualified to become the favorite of an Asiatic despot; Callisthenes, who had studied under Aristotle, as a rough republican, extravagantly disposed to flatter himself. Of his insolent vanity Arrian mentions a remarkable instance, which, tho of uncertain authority, yet as having been popular, marks the popular opinion of the philosopher's character. He claimed for himself to be greater than Alexander, and for his litterary works to be more glorious than all Alexander's deeds of conquest and political regulation: for, he said, he did not follow that prince to be indebted to him for glory, but to make him glorious among men; and if Alexander's connection with the Godhead had credit, it did not come from what others falsely reported of his birth, but from what he, the philosopher, by his writings, persuaded men to believe. To illustrate this eminent man's politics also, Arrian furnishes an anecdote. Philotas, it was said[3], once in conversation with him, asked, 'whom he reckoned to be held most in 'honor by the Athenians?' 'Harmodius,' he answered, 'and Aristogeiton; because they killed 'one of the two tyrants, and procured the over-'throw of the tyranny.' Philotas then asking, 'where a man who killed a tyrant might find 'surest refuge among the Greeks?' Callisthenes

Arrian, l. 4. c. 10.

Ibid.

[2] Curtius, unscrupulous in assertion, says, on another occasion, that Callisthenes, as an Olynthian was not intitled to the benefit of the Macedonian law. Observation upon this will occur hereafter.

[3] Εισί δὲ οι και τάδε ἀνέγραψαν.

answered, 'if nowhere else, he would be safe 'among the Athenians.' Alexander having the magnanimity (for if imprudent, it was yet a magnanimous imprudence) to admit a man of formidable talent, so avowing the king-killing principle of Demosthenes, to his counsels and his table, he may surely at least be excused the admission also, to his society, of the courtly philosopher Anaxarchus, as well as of the poet Agis, said to have been not less a complete courtier, tho a citizen of the democratical republic of Argos. SECT. I.

Concerning then the requisition of the ceremony called adoration, which consisted in bowing to the ground, on approaching the royal presence, Arrian says that, among various reports transmitted, what he preferred was this. Alexander invited to an entertainment the principal Persians and Medes, together with the principal officers of his army, and the principal philosophers and eminent men attending him from various Grecian republics. Wine circulating, the philosopher Anaxarchus began a preconcerted discourse, stating that 'Alexander 'might be more reasonably treated with divine 'honors than either Bacchus or Hercules; not only 'on account of the superiority of his deeds, and 'the greater extent of his conquests, but, also, 'because Bacchus was a Theban, unconnected with 'Macedonia; Hercules, an ancestor indeed of 'Alexander, yet not a Macedonian but an Argive; 'and surely it would be more consistent for the 'Macedonians so to honor their own king. That 'after death such honor would be paid him there 'could be no doubt. How much better then to 'give him importance by it, in the eyes of his new 'subjects, while living, than wait for his death,

CHAP. LII.

'when that advantage would, for him, be gone 'by!'

For Grecian minds, however inlightened by philosophy, the extravagance of such a proposal obviously would be lessened by familiarity with Grecian religion and that called mythology; which taught that many of the Grecian gods had been fathers of men, and warranted the claim for very many Greeks, and eminently for Alexander, to be of a race descended from a deïty. Accordingly other philosophers of Anaxarchus's party supported his proposal, some with speeches, all with applauses. But the matter was not a question simply either of compliment, or of religious concern. It might not unreasonably be apprehended that the change from Grecian to Persian habits, but especially if honors were added to the living prince as to a Grecian deïty, would produce, or even seem to warrant, a claim to that unlimited authority over all subjects, which those of the Persian empire had been habituated, from time immemorial, to admit in their sovereins. The Macedonian officers therefore were very generally dissatisfied, yet held silence. The philosopher Callisthenes undertook reply; and the speech will deserve attention; whether pure from his day, or mixed and tempered with sentiments of Arrian's own age, a century and half within the Christian era; when, on one hand, the attribution of divine honors to the most worthless and vicious of men had been carried to the most absurd and abominable extravagance, and, on the other, even philosophers had condescended to gather from Christianity purer notions of the Godhead. 'Of honors,' said Callisthenes, 'which men 'pay to a man, I think none too great for Alexan-'der. But human and divine honors are many

Arr. l. 4. c. 11.

'ways distinguished. To the gods we consecrate SECT. 1.
'temples, we sacrifice, we pour libations. Hymns
'are sung to the gods: praises are given to men;
'but not with the ceremony of prostration. We
'salute men with a kiss: but to reach the gods
'living beyond us, we worship them with prostra-
'tion. Dances are practised in honor of the gods,
'and pæans are sung to them. Different honors
'are paid to different gods, and to heroes again
'honors differed from godlike honors. It cannot
'be proper to confound all these; honoring men
'extravagantly, and derogating from the dignity of
'the gods, by giving to men equal honors. It
'would, beyond others, become you, Anaxarchus,
'who for your learning and wisdom are admitted
'to continual communication with Alexander, to
'recommend to him these considerations, and
'divert him from contrary purposes. Recollect Arr. l. 3. c. 24.
'that you are not advising Cambyses or Xerxes,
'but the son of Philip, of the posterity of Hercules
'and Æacus. His forefathers passed from Argos
'into Macedonia, holding the sovereinty of the
'Macedonian nation, not by violence, but under
'law. Hercules himself, while living, was not
'worshipped as a divinity; nor even after death,
'till the god at Delphi had clearly declared that
'it should be so.'

Curtius, as superior in dramatic arrangement, as inferior in all the most essential qualities of a historian, makes Alexander withdraw during the discussion, to reënter with effect when it was concluded. Arrian's account, after some writer, apparently, ernest to put forward the causes of philosophy and democracy, makes him present during the whole; thus exhibiting more eminently the commanding boldness of the democratical

CHAP. LII.

philosopher. But thus he marks also the character of the Macedonian constitution, which inabled a subject to use such freedom with the soverein. After the preceding argument, directed to the meeting at large, Arrian represents Callisthenes addressing the king himself thus: 'And if, because we 'are only a few thousands in a wide continent of 'millions of barbarians, it may be in any degree 'necessary to adopt barbarian sentiments, never-'theless I conjure you, Alexander, to be mindful of 'the Greek nation; for whose sake wholly the 'expedition was professed to be undertaken, with 'the purpose of subjecting, not Greece to Asia, 'but Asia to Greece. Consider, then; when you 'return to Greece, will you require of the Greeks, 'bred, beyond all people, to reckon upon a liberal 'equality between man and man, this servile cere-'mony? Or will you make a degrading difference 'for the Macedonians, and put upon them alone 'this dishonor? Is it not fitter that the distinction 'should be otherwise made? That the Greeks, 'including the Macedonians, should pay you hu-'man honors, according to Grecian customs, de-'rived from remotest antiquity, and that to the 'barbarians should be left the practices transmitted 'from their forefathers? Humiliation seems to 'await the proud. Xerxes was put to shame by 'the Athenians and Lacedæmonians; Artaxerxes 'by Clearchus and Xenophon; and recently Darius 'has been levelled with the dust by Alexander, 'not then worshipped as a god.'

Arrian, still avoiding, with his usual just caution, to answer for words, tho reported to have been delivered in his own language, in a numerous company, on a subject of great interest, proceeds to

demonstrate his opinion of the freedom used, not less by republican Greeks than by the Macedonian great, in communication with Macedonian monarchs, even with Alexander, in the zenith of his triumphs. These and similar arguments, he says, were very grating to Alexander; who, nevertheless, would not directly express dissatisfaction. That Callisthenes's freedom had been gratifying to the Macedonians present, was obvious. Intimation nevertheless being given that the ceremony of prostration would please the king, and was expected by him, all the Persians rose, and, in order, made the obeisance, as to their former monarchs. One of them appearing to humiliate himself more than the rest, Leonnatus, an eminent Macedonian, previously, and afterward, much favored by Alexander, indecorously enough laughed at him. At this Alexander did not scruple to express displeasure. But, however swoln with pride, or bent upon a favorite purpose, possessing with a generous forgiving temper, much of his father's talent to ingage the willing obedience of men, he would use no compulsion, and yet, for the moment, succeeded. It was customary, among the Greeks, to drink in circle from the same cup. Alexander directed a golden flagon to be filled with wine; and, drinking from it himself, sent it to one of several who had previously expressed his approbation of the purpose of adopting the ceremony. This person, not named by the historian, rose and drank, gave the flagon to the cup-bearer, prostrated himself, and, on rising again, proceeded, after the Grecian custom, to salute the king with a kiss. Others, also prepared, followed the example; and thus all those averse to the ceremony were led to comply, except Callisthenes. He drank, and proceeded, but without

SECT. I.

Arrian, l. 4. c. 12.

CHAP. LII.

prostration, to offer the kiss. Alexander, talking at the time with Hephæstion, did not observe the omission; but Demetrius[4] son of Pythonax informing him, he refused the Grecian salutation from Callisthenes. The philosopher withdrawing, then said aloud, 'I put up with the loss of a kiss.' If Alexander resented this insolence, it seems that he had the temper not at the time to show it.

SECTION II.

Death of Cleitus.

Arrian, l. 4. c. 8.

Among the Macedonians, by antient custom, a particular day of the year was sacred to Bacchus. In the winter-quarters at Bactra Alexander took the fancy, instead of Bacchus, to perform the sacrifice and hold the feast in honor of Castor and Pollux. It might seem that he meant thus to declare his esteem of the warlike character, of which those heroes were esteemed patrons, and his disregard of the luxury which, perhaps not in the origin of the worship, was supposed the care of the fabulous conqueror of all the countries from Greece to farthest India, but in process of cur-

Arr. l. 7. c. 9. & 28.

ruption became so. Among Alexander's virtues a general temperance is, on the best authorities,

[4] Surnamed Pheidon. Plut. v. Alex. 696, A. This story is related nearly alike by Arrian and Plutarch. The latter informs us that its authenticity rested on the report of Chares, of Mitylene, whose authority, it appears, Arrian respected.

attributed to him[5]. In eating, Plutarch says, he remained always moderate; faring, according to his own assertion, reported by Arrian, like those under him, and even less luxuriously than some, studious of delicacies. But in drinking, latterly, he sometimes deviated from his early sobriety; giving, according to Arrian's phrase, into the barbarian habit of excess[6]. Yet, according to Plutarch, his pleasure was in conversation more than in wine, so that often when he sat long he drank little. At the feast of the twin gods, however, the cup circulated over freely. The company in general was heated, when question arose about the history of Castor and Pollux, how it was that they were reputed sons, not of Tyndarus, their mother's husband, but of Jupiter. Hence the discourse turned on their actions; and at length some, disposed to flatter the king, and urged by the fumes in their head, insisted that, in greatness of achievement, those of Bacchus were not comparable to those of Alexander.

SECT. II.

Plut. symp. l. 1. p. 623.

Incert. auc. ap. Arr. l. 4. c. 8.

Cleitus, brought up with Alexander from childhood, and now among his most favored generals and most confidential friends, nevertheless was among those who saw with uneasiness his growing vanity, his growing partiality for oriental manners and sentiments, and his disposition to abandon the character of a Greek as contradistinguished from a barbarian. Himself heated with wine, he reproved warmly the flattery of the king to the dishonor of divinities. This urged the others to greater ex-

[5] Ἡδονῶν δὲ τῶν μὲν τοῦ σώματος ἐγκρατέστατος. Arr. l. 7. c. 28.

[6] Καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὰ τῶν πότων ἤδη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐς τὸ βαρβαρικώτερον νενεωτέριζο. Arr. l. 4. c. 8.

CHAP. LII.

travagance. 'All that was reported of Hercules 'himself,' they said, 'was little, compared with 'what had been done by Alexander. But human 'envy denied to the merit of the living its due 'honor.' Cleitus retorted; and at length, with the altercation, so lost his temper and judgement, that, turning from those with whom he had been arguing, he addressed the king himself in very offensive terms. Alexander, heated like the rest with wine, and irritated by the conversation he had witnessed, became so provoked that he rose, and was advancing with marks of vehement anger toward Cleitus. Some of the more sober and prudent managed to stop him, while others forced Cleitus out of the room, and led him to a guard, where Ptolemy commanded. Being however uot strictly watched, he slipped away, returned to the company, and immediately addressed Alexander with evident purpose of provocation. The king, unfortunately not in a condition to command himself, snatching a weapon from one of the attending guards, killed Cleitus on the spot.

Aristob. ap. Arr. l. 4. c. 8.

Alexander's almost immediate repentance for this atrocious deed, has been allowed by all writers, however differing about particulars, to have been signal. For three days he kept his chamber in the deepest grief, and would neither eat nor drink. His friends, highly uneasy, at length, with difficulty, persuaded him to take refreshment, and resume his former habits of business and daily meals. Some priests of Bacchus are said to have assisted; representing that the anger of the god, for the neglect of customary honor, produced the catastrophe. To this representation Alexander so far yielded that he performed a sacrifice to Bacchus; glad, says Arrian, to have the fatal event attributed rather

Arr. l. 4. c. 9.

SECT. II.

to the god's anger with him, than to his own disposition. The philosopher Anaxarchus took occasion to use an analogous argument. 'It was a saying transmitted,' he said, 'from wise men of old, 'that justice sat on the right hand of Jupiter, and 'whatever Jupiter decreed was just.' He is reported to have proceeded to urge the inference, afterward actually adopted by the Roman emperors, that 'whatever the king does is just.' Possibly this may have been added by some ingenious Greek among the enemies of Anaxarchus; for it seems uncalled for by the occasion, and, on the contrary, rather weakening the arguments drawn from the supposed pleasure of one deity, and anger of another.

Plutarch's account of the death of Cleitus, differing in some particulars, is so far of the same tenor with Arrian's, that it may be considered as confirming rather than contradicting it. But Plutarch has added what assists to mark the character of Alexander's court, and the state of parties there at the time. Envy was not between Greeks and Persians only. The respect with which Alexander treated the republican Greeks generally, and the honors with which he distinguished some, inflamed the vanity which was not an uncommon Grecian failing; and the men of letters, almost all men of the republics, began to assume, occasionally, an offensive superiority over the Macedonians, less generally educated to letters. 'Do not the Greeks 'appear among the Macedonians like demigods 'among wild beasts?' is a speech reported, no doubt on the authority of republican writers, to have come from Alexander himself. Callisthenes was admired for a singularly reddy eloquence. On any proposed subject he could speak immedi-

Plut. v. Alex. p. 694.

CHAP. LII.

ately an interesting treatise, and defend either side of any question with ingenious arguments. Yet so far he kept this talent in reserve that he rarely entered into general conversation; oftener indicating silently a sullen disapprobation of the sentiments of others, than declaring any of his own. In a numerous company once, the merits of the Macedonians being proposed to him by Alexander for a topic, he spoke so as to gratify all; and the Macedonians most highly. Alexander then, in a phrase of the poet Euripides, said 'On an advantageous subject 'words will be reddy; but now, Callisthenes, show 'your powers in representing the faults of the 'Macedonians, so that, hearing, they may mend 'them.' Callisthenes, immediately taking the other side of the question, abused the Macedonians grossly, vilified the king's father, imputing his successes, not to his talents, but solely to the divisions, among the republican Greeks; and concluded with a verse, probably from some tragedy then familiar, 'The wicked wretch through discord honor won.' The Macedonians present showed themselves highly offended. Alexander himself simply observed, that 'Callisthenes had been less showing his pow-'ers of eloquence than his ill-will toward the Mace-'donians.' To this anecdote Plutarch has given value by naming his authority for it; Hermippus, a cotemporary of Alexander, he says, related that Stroïbus, reader to Callisthenes, reported it to Aristotle. Another anecdote, also furnished by Plutarch, marks the freedom which Callisthenes would take and Alexander would bear. On some occasion the philosopher, finding or fancying himself less well received than formerly, turned away, repeating in Alexander's hearing, twice or thrice, this verse of Homer: 'Patroclus died; a better man

'than thou:' which, adds the biographer, is enough to justify Aristotle's observation, that Callisthenes was great and powerful in eloquence, but wanted just judgment[7]. SECT. II.

SECTION III.

Conspiracy of the Band of Pages.

AFTER the death of Cleitus, in the winter-quarters still of Bactra, a conspiracy against Alexander's life, of a very extraordinary kind, was discovered. The body-guard of boys approaching manhood[8], sons of the first men of the state, has been formerly described. They were the king's companions, it will be remembered, in hunting, and by turns they mounted guard nightly in the antechamber of his bedroom. Arrian mentions, but as report, for which he would not answer, tho he seems to have thought it probably true, that Alexander being on a hunting party from Bactra, and going to strike a boar, Hermolaus, one of the youths of the body-guard, insolently or indiscreetly struck the animal before him. The youth's father, Sopolis, was of high military rank, then employed on the recruiting service in Macedonia. Nevertheless, for such a breach of order and discipline, perhaps more than for personal disrespect, Alexander ordered Hermolaus to be chastised with stripes, in presence of the other youths, and deprived of his horse. SECT. III.

Ch. 43. s. 4. of this Hist.

Arr. l. 4. c. 13. Curt. l. 8. c. 6. Plut. v. Alex.

[7] Νοῦν δὲ οὐχ εἶχεν.

[8] Ὡσὼι ἐς ἡλικίαν εμεἰραχίσανlο.—Arr.

CHAP. LII.

The king's anger was passing, but the youth's indignation was not so. He was reädmitted, it is evident, to the former honors of his situation, or his chosen opportunity for revenge would not have occurred. He is said to have been a diligent and favorite scholar of Callisthenes; who, according to report, as we have seen, which appears intitled to credit, was a preacher of the doctrine of the lawfulness and merit of tyrannicide. It seems indeed difficult to conceive that, without some such stimulation, what followed could have happened. Hermolaus, the more his own master as his father was absent, ingaged four other youths, sons of eminent Macedonians, together with the son of Carsis, who, tho a Thracian, appears to have ranked among those of the Macedonian court most honored, in the horrid plot to murder their king in his sleep. For executing this the night was chosen when Antipater, one of the conspirators, whether alone, or in command of others, was to hold the watch in the antechamber. The father of Antipater, Asclepiodorus, was actually satrap of Syria, perhaps the most important command within the new empire. Alexander, however generally a model of temperance, yet of a constitution to bear long tension of the faculties, and to be uneasy in rest, would, in the leisure of winter-quarters, even after the catastrophē of Cleitus, and perhaps as medicine for his severe feelings resulting from it, indulge sometimes immoderately in protracting the pleasures of the table. The character of the company he most incouraged favors the apology for him, that liberal and instructive conversation was altogether his object; yet it appears on all hands acknowleged that he would sometimes drink to excess. Arrian, on the authority of Aristobulus, has thought what follows worthy of a place in his

narrative. A Syrian woman, pretending to inspiration, had followed Alexander from her own country, and was admitted occasionally to his presence: first as an object of ridicule for himself and companions; but, her forebodings being often justified by the event, at length she gained great estimation, insomuch that access to him was denied her neither day nor night, and she frequently watched him sleeping. This woman, meeting him, on the night proposed for his assassination, as he was retiring from his company, conjured him to return. At her pressing instance he did so, and, continuing his carousal till daylight, escaped the danger prepared for him. From a man of the rank and means of information of Aristobulus, if only as marking the manners and opinions of Alexander's court, this could not but require the modern historian's notice. SECT. III.

Next day one of the conspirators revealed the secret to a young friend. He told another, who hastened to declare it to Ptolemy son of Lagus, and the five youths were presently arrested. Being put to torture, according to the Macedonian law, they revealed the whole plan of their conspiracy; and declared Callisthenes to have been their instigator. They were then brought to trial before the Macedonians of the army. According to some writers, unnamed by Arrian, Hermolaus boldly confessed and gloried in the plot, telling his judges that it could not become freemen to bear the indignities put upon them by Alexander. Proceeding then to particulars, he noticed the unjust condemnation of Philotas; the still more illegal execution of Parmenio; the murder of Cleitus in a fit of drunkenness; the assumption of the Median dress; the requisition of the ceremony of adoration; not however saying it was insisted on, but only not abandoned; the

Ptol. et Aristob. ap. Arr.

CHAP. LII.

drinking by night, and sleeping by day, of the man who, beyond all others, ought to watch for the good of all.

If credit should be given to this account, it however proves that freedom of speech was largely allowed to the accused. But indeed so far all accounts concur, that the trial was according to all the forms of law required by the free tho rude constitution of the nation; that the assembled Macedonians condemned Hermolaus, and the youths ingaged with him, to death; and that they proceeded to execute the sentence, according to the national custom, known as also that of the Jews, by overwhelming them with stones.

The philosopher Callisthenes, accused of instigating the plot, was apprehended. Aristobulus related that he was carried about a prisoner, with the army, and died of disease in the course of nature. On the contrary Ptolemy asserted that he was put to torture, and then hanged[9]. 'So widely,' observes Arrian, 'have those who ought to have been most 'worthy of confidence, and who, as present with 'Alexander, must have had all opportunity for 'knowing such facts, differed about them.' This, it must be confessed is an extraordinary difference; hardly to be accounted for unless upon the supposition that, among the distractions which followed Alexander's death, with opportunity for either, in the situation where he then might be, to obtain credit for a matter happening in a very distant country, some private interest instigated one, and we are without means to decide which, of those eminent

[9] *κρεμασθῆναι*. There has been controversy among the critics of the continent about the exact import of the word, as describing a capital punishment, decision of which I will not undertake.

SECT. III.

writers. Thus much however appears from all accounts of Callisthènes, that he was a turbulent and mischievous preacher of democracy, long favored by Alexander's liberality beyond prudence. His imprisonment and death, as, from the utter uncertainty of the circumstances, they were a most convenient, so they became a favorite subject for following democratical writers; who appear to have made large use of the opportunity afforded by the impossibility of absolutely proving falsehood, to assert, very variously, anything to their purpose.

CHAPTER LIII.

War prosecuted by ALEXANDER beyond the Bounds of the PERSIAN Empire.

SECTION I.

Force of Alexander's Army. Natural and political Circumstances of India westward of the Ganges. March into India, and Conquests there: Grecian Colony established in India: Indian Cattle sent to Greece.

CHAP. LIII.

ALEXANDER, having set out for the conquest of Asia, as we have seen, with a land-force of less than forty thousand men, and with a revenue too scanty to maintain the fleet wanted for coöperation with it, now, with the income of the Persian empire, commanded a corresponding army. With guards and garrisons in all the provinces, and administration so arranged that disturbance of the new order of things arose nowhere, or nowhere so as to ingage the notice of historians, those provinces injoying a freedom from commotion and from the private wars of satraps, unknown perhaps since the defeat of Xerxes in Greece, unless in the latter years of Ochus, Alexander's moving army, under his immediate command, according to Curtius, who alone of extant writers has given the number, was a hundred and twenty thousand men. Exactness

SECT. I.

in the round sum will not be supposed; yet the amount is noway beyond probability, nor does anything from Arrian imply contradiction of it. Doubtless, in a new empire, to maintain a large disposable force would be necessary, and in so wealthy an empire means abounded. To maintain satisfaction with quiet in a conquering army would be the difficulty; for Alexander the greater from the very rapidity, extent, and value of his conquests, in which the soldier was accustomed to have all fall before him, and to find large reward, if not with little labor and danger, yet in little time. But his latter campains, tho everywhere still victorious, could not have been gratifying, like the earlier, to either soldier or officer. Instead of a great battle splendidly successful, or an obstinate siege once or twice in a season, followed by the reddy submission of the richest countries and largest cities in the world, there had been continual hard fighting, in a climate of the severest alternacy of heat and cold; and tho the success so hardly obtained was most important for the quiet and stability of the empire, yet, in comparison with what had preceded, little insued of either glory for the chief, or profit for the soldier.

But the passion for adventure and impatience of rest, common in youth, had been, in Alexander's ardent temper, stimulated by extraordinary success and fixed by habit in exertion; holding all his faculties now for years almost unremittingly on the utmost stretch. With this, to a mind highly susceptible of fine feeling, reflection on things recently past could not but be greatly uneasy. If Parmenio and Philotas were guilty, that those whom he had so esteemed and honored and trusted should so prove, must have been of bitter consideration. If

CHAP. LIII.

they were innocent, or if their guilt, as in all accounts it seems to have been, was at least in the imputed amount, doubtful, reflection on the catastrophë would be still more biting. His poignant grief for the death of Cleitus, tho after three days most acute suffering, smothered so far as no longer to interrupt his public functions, could not so end. Pondering on all these matters would contribute to chasten his generous yet over ardent temper, and prepare it to bear the disappointment which, apparently he found it expedient to bear, of failure in the purpose in which at first he seems to have been keenly ernest, to establish the ceremony called adoration, in approaching his person, together with the opinion, or the acknowlegement, that his digity, if not his nature also, was suprahuman. The ideä of a man partaking of divine nature and dignity was familiar among the most cultivated of antient nations; and the estimation of such superiority to the bulk of mankind would be not simply gratifying to human vanity, but probably important, and perhaps indispensable, toward obtaining that respect among subject nations for the conqueror of the Persian empire, with which the conquered dynasty had for ages been treated; and desirable, not for the prince only, but for all who were to share with him in profit from the conquest. That a powerful party therefore would favor the extravagant ideä is not wonderful, and under this view much consideration certainly is due to Alexander himself.

These circumstances of sorrow and disappointment appear to have been among stimulations for Alexander to seek new conquests. But there were still others. It was evidently in his nature to desire to show the Macedonians that, with the wish he had manifested for extravagant honor as a divinity,

it was not his purpose to seclude himself, like some of the Persian monarchs, among the pleasures of his palace, avoiding in future the labors and dangers and privations of the common soldier. But he had still farther and greater views. SECT. I.

For some time now we have been ingaged with transactions in countries imperfectly known from either antient accounts or modern, yet known to have remained always very deficiently civilized. The sea, in the infancy of art and science the divider of nations, beneficial to mankind by affording security for the weak against oppression from the strong, became in their advancement otherwise beneficial, giving means for advantageous communication between the most distant. Thus while a large portion of the Persian empire, nearly central in the greatest continent of our globe, has remained, still for us, in much obscurity, countries of vast extent beyond that empire, against the ocean, have become in large proportion even familiarly known. Interest and curiosity together inciting, the talents of seamen, soldiers, merchants, geographers, philosophers, have been largely and laboriously exerted, and the results of their inquiries have been ably given to the world. Formerly, if, anywhere among the learned, suspicion was entertained of romance in even the gravest accounts of Alexander's transactions in that distant part of the world whither we are now to follow him, such suspicion could not, on sure ground, be controverted. But the new and certain light, in modern times obtained, affording much confirmation of the best antient accounts, often deriving assistance from them, and rarely finding them in error, tends to establish widely the faith of antient history. Not simply as it establishes the credit of Alexander's historians,

CHAP. LIII.

especially Arrian, for matters in countries at length laid open to Europeän curiosity, but farther as it reflects credit on the most authentic, and assists estimation of the more questionable accounts of things and transactions in countries less admitting observation and inquiry.

It is now ascertained that the northern part of western India, to a great extent watered by the numerous streams issuing from the boundary mountains of Scythia, which, at intervals uniting, form the great river Indus, is among the most productive in the world, and thence, in antient as in modern times, extraordinarily populous and wealthy. Of wars between the Indian princes and the Persian empire accounts remain; but scanty and uncertain, nor is any great result from them indicated. Probably the limits of the Persian empire, on this side, were not very steddily maintained, and perhaps never very exactly decided. But with Alexander's views it would be an important political object to establish a certain boundary, and to provide for its being respected. Doubtless he would have intelligence of the wealth of India; nor would information fail him of the worthlessness of a great extent of country between India and Persia proper, barren nearly as the desert he had traversed in Africa, but affording refuge for wild hords in its neighborhood, whence they avoided submission to any government. Arrangement of some sort for this eastern boundary of his new empire was obviously, in various views, wanting; and Alexander's views, always great, were often directed to extensive benefit for mankind. Whether the learned Vincent had ground for the supposition that, when he founded his city of Alexandria in Egypt, he had alreddy conceived the

idea, not only of carrying conquest to the Indus, but also of establishing a commercial communication between the Indian shores and that city, it seems not doubtful that when, having completed the conquest of the Persian empire, he resolved still to prosecute conquest eastward, such contemplation was in his mind. SECT. I.

In Arrian's account of India, not only natural but political circumstances also are described, in large part, as they exist at this day. The country was divided into numerous principalities, to several of whose chiefs he gives a title[1] indicating allegiance to some paramount soverein; yet shows that they possessed power to make war and peace for themselves. Contests between these chiefs abounded; and probably among them, on this eastern verge of the Persian empire, as among the Grecian republics on the western, it had been the policy of some to obtain support from that empire; whence, on the conqueror's arrival with his victorious army in their neighborhood, a disposition to court him was reddy.

Such was the climate of Bactria that it appears to have been necessary for Alexander to wait in the winter-quarters there till spring was considerably advanced, before the roads were sufficiently open for conveniently marching in any direction. Even then the extent of the Indian mountains eastward was forbidding, in no season affording an easily practicable road. Alexander therefore, leaving ten thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, under the command of Amyntas, for the security of the northern provinces of his acquired empire, directed his march, with an army of probably more

Arrian, l. 4. c. 22.

[1] "Ὑπαρχος, seeming to mark nearly the modern, perhaps also antient, RAJAH.

CHAP LIII.

than a hundred and twenty thousand of all arms, first southward. Crossing, in that course, without difficulty the ridge of Caucasus, the southern boundary of Bactria, in ten days he reached his colony of Alexandria in Paropamisus. That colony he strengthened by allowing those of his army less fit for active service to remain there, in houses alreddy provided; and he associated with them some of the neighboring natives, who were willing to become their fellowcitizens. Dissatisfied then with the conduct of the officer whom he had left governor, he removed him, and, committing the military command to Nicanor of the band of companions he appointed Tyriaspes, apparently a Persian, to the chief civil authority, with the dignity of satrap.

From the border of Paropamisus eastward a great extent of valuable country, held by people of the Indian nation, seems to have been claimed as a portion of the Persian empire; perhaps conquered by the first Darius, or perhaps by Cyrus; but latterly, in the weakness and troubles of the imperial government, the chiefs of districts appear to have assumed an independent authority. Nevertheless Alexander found no resistance, or none noticed by the historian, in his march to a city which the Greek writers call Nicæa; probably translating a Persian name, commemorating a victory. A peaceful transaction only is mentioned there, a sacrifice to Minerva. Whether or no there may have been any farther view in this, it would of course be a regale for his army. Still unopposed then he proceeded without opposition to the river Cophen. Here the historian indicates that, tho he claimed sovereinty beyond that stream (whether as successor to the conquests of Persian kings, or in pursuance of the Grecian claim against all Barba-

rians, or if any other ground might be, does not appear) he was doubtful of the acknowlegement of his claim. A herald was sent forward to the chiefs of districts, with orders for them to attend the paramount soverein, as, in his progress, he might approach them. SECT. I.

At this time Taxiles, a bordering chief, powerful by his interest among neighboring states, was at enmity with a still more powerful chief, Astes, prince of a district still eastward, which the Greeks called Peucelaotis. Under the lead of Taxiles, all the chiefs, westward of Peucelaotis, came to wait upon Alexander, bringing large presents, as the custom of India still is, and offering all the elephants they possessed. These, only twenty-five, were apparently not the produce of their northern country, but obtained from the southward.

The submission of Taxiles and his associates appears to have determined the opposition of Astes, with a powerful party adhering to him as their chief. Hephæstion therefore, and Perdiccas, were sent with a strong division of the army against them. Astes shut himself within his principal town, to which siege was laid; and, after a resistance of thirty days, it was taken by assault, in which himself was killed. All the more level country then submitting as far as the Indus, Hephæstion and Perdiccas, according to their instructions, proceeded to prepare means for the difficult passage of that great river. Arrian, l. 4. c. 22.

Meanwhile Alexander was pursuing labors and dangers, perhaps with more than former eagerness, to relieve a troubled mind. Three obscure nations the Aspies, Thyrees, and Arasacs, confident in the strength of their rough and mountainous country,

CHAP. LIII.

and in their own valor and skill in arms, refused submission. After a troublesome march, having with difficulty crossed the river Choes, he found a country before him in which cavalry might act. Expecting then that the inhabitants would remove all portable valuables to their fortresses or to the nearest highlands, he put eight hundred Macedonian heavy-armed foot on horseback, and with these and all his cavalry he hastened forward, leaving the main body of his infantry to follow at an easy pace. But, as he approached a large fortified town, the people, observing the smallness of his numbers, and confident in their superiority, quitted their walls to meet him in the field. His experience inabling him to estimate, better than they, his own strength and theirs, he proceeded immediately to attack them; and the charge of so considerable a body of regular cavalry, of which they had no previous ideä, drove them within their gates. In the short yet sharp conflict however Alexander and two of his most active young generals, Leonnatus, and Ptolemy son of Lagus, were wounded; but the injury to himself, which was in the shoulder, through the excellence of his defensive armor, was not severe.

Next day assault was made on the town, which was surrounded with two walls. The outer was mastered with little difficulty: the inner was at first defended bravely. But the Indians, feeling soon their inability to resist, in close fight, the Grecian weapons and discipline, issued by the gates which afforded best opportunity, and fled for the mountains. The Macedonians, pursuing, angry, says Arrian, that their king had been wounded, gave no quarter; and Alexander himself, appears to have sanctioned this illiberality by destroying

the town. The proximity of the mountains however gave present safety to the greater part of the people. SECT. I.

The success, nevertheless, and the severity together, had their effect. The next town, Andax, presently surrendered; and the principal difficulties for the reduction of that part of the country were so far overborne, that nothing inviting for Alexander's fancy remained. The business therefore of accepting or compelling the obedience of those who had not yet professed it, and of taking the measures necessary for the future administration, he committed to Craterus; who seems to have been judiciously selected as, after Parmenio, the ablest of his generals. For himself he continued to prefer the business of most labor and danger. With a chosen portion of the army, infantry and cavalry, he proceeded to a town, described only as the principal city of the Aspies, where the principal strength of the country was collected under its chief. By a forced march he reached it in two days. The inhabitants, in extreme alarm, burnt their town, and fled to the mountains; yet not so timely but that many were killed by the pursuing Macedonians. Arr. l. 4. c. 24.

The multitude however soon recovering in some degree from their first alarm, their chief, who did not want personal courage, collected a force about him on a hill, projected from the body of the highlands into the plain, and thence observed his enemy's motions. Under a prince, so little sparing of himself as Alexander, there would of course be emulation of his conduct. Ptolemy son of Lagus, having, in the division under his command, a part

CHAP. LIII.

of that select body called the hypaspists[2], led them against the Indian prince. Protected by their armor, and powerful by their discipline, they soon compelled the very superior number of the Indians, tho very advantageously posted, to fly. Ptolemy followed; and when the steepness and roughness of the ground made farther progress with his horse difficult, he alighted and pursued afoot. The Indian prince, whether checked in retreat by increasing difficulty of the ground, or reckoning upon advantage from that alreddy reached, ingaged those about him to turn against his pursuing enemy, and himself drove his long lance against Ptolemy's breast. The point however was effectually resisted by the armor it met, and Ptolemy directing his weapon against his assailant's thigh, pierced it, and the Indian fell. Those immediately about him then fled in dismay, and the Macedonians proceeded to carry off the wounded prince. But by this time the Indians had collected in great number, on the nearest heights, and, on seeing the distress of their prince, a general effervescence of grief and indignation among them produced a strong effort to relieve him. It was however too late; for Alexander, hastening with his mounted heavy infantry to the foot of the hill, and there making them alight, presently arrived. Nevertheless the valor and obstinacy of the Indians had been so excited, that not without difficulty they were driven back, and the

[2] It has before been observed that satisfactory information of what characterized the ὑπασπισταὶ fails. It might seem indicated here that they were cavalry, carrying larger shields than those found most convenient for the general cavalry service, and thence more capable of acting with the heavy-armed foot; but in other instances they are clearly marked as infantry, and neither here nor elsewhere clearly as cavalry.

prince's body, whose wound appears to have been mortal, remained with the Macedonians[s]. SECT. I.

Alexander then crossed the mountains to Arigæum, a town which he found deserted and burnt. Here Craterus, with the main body of the army rejoined him, having brought the province of Peucelaotis to complete obedience. Sangæus, an Indian chief, who had been driven from his territory by Astes, being connected in friendship with Taxiles, had been introduced to Alexander's protection, and so gained his esteem that he was now appointed to the government of the country which had been his enemy's principality. Neither the policy by which conquest should be maintained, nor that by which the fatigues of service (great indeed were those he often required) should be relieved, and cheerfulness under them promoted, seem ever to have failed in Alexander's mind. The situation of Arigæum appearing favorable for a colony, he appointed Craterus to superintend the rebuilding of the burnt town; directing him meanwhile to incourage the fugitive inhabitants to return with any neighboring people who might be disposed to accept the settlement, in which he joined with them any soldiers of his army less fit for fatigues to insue, who were disposed to rest there.

But the people of the Arigæan country, far from yet showing any disposition to a general submission, had assembled themselves and their cattle in a strong situation. Alexander, with some imperfect information of their measures, leaving Craterus to his appointed employment, marched himself toward

s Arrian has not said whether this exploit of Ptolemy was related by himself; but his narrative seems in some degree to indicate that this part of it, together with what immediately follows, was from Ptolemy.

CHAP. LIII.

them with a chosen force. Ptolemy, on a foraging party, extending his observation far, came in view of the enemy's station: and, on his return, reported that, from the extent of the height they occupied, and also from their fires, it appeared probable that their numbers far exceeded his. Alexander, having considered the circumstances, resolved upon three simultaneous assaults. Committing one division of his army to Ptolemy, and another to Leonnatus, he took himself the immediate command of the third. To Ptolemy, who had made the observation, he assigned the attack where was the greatest difficulty of ground. For himself he took that where it was supposed the greater opposing force might be expected. But the Indians, observing the smallness of his numbers, confidently descended into the plain to meet him. Thus disadvantage of ground remained only for Ptolemy's division. The bravery of superior numbers then was so little availing, against superior arms and skill and science, that victory was easy. The prisoners, according to Ptolemy's account, women and children probably included, were no less than forty thousand. Neat cattle, to the amount of two hundred and thirty thousand, were the farther fruit of the contest; perhaps an exaggerated enumeration, rather to be attributed to the error to which, in repeated transcriptions, reports of numbers are so obviously liable, than to the real testimony of so informed and eminent a writer. Here again Alexander showed, in a matter generally of small interest among conquerors, his attention still to his native country, and, what he was frequently, among his military exertions and the conquests resulting from them, evincing, his attention to the general welfare of mankind. Reviewing the cattle, he observed the

Arr. l. 4. c. 25.

peculiarities of their make; and being assured of their superiority to those of Europe, especially, for working, he ordered a selection of them to be sent to Macedonia, to improve the breed there. Modern observation does credit to Alexander's judgement in this matter, so out of the ordinary course of conquerors, and to Arrian's information concerning it; the Indian cattle, being found, at this day, of a form admired among our breeders for beauty, superiorly disposed to reddy fattening, and, as Arrian says of them, of extraordinary strength, activity, and power of perseverance in labor; tho found inferior for another great public purpose, milking. The judicious reader, it may well be trusted, will find gratification rather than disgust in this little familiar episode, which the eminent officer, afterward founder of the Grecian monarchy of Egypt, and Arrian's guide, thought not unworthy of a place in his history of his soverein, the greatest conqueror the world had known. SECT. I.

SECTION II.

War with the Assakene Indians. Indian Mercenary Troops. Questionable Deed of Alexander. Siege of Mount Aornos. Conquest carried to the River Indus.

Craterus, having completed, as far as immediate occasion required, the rebuilding and fortifying of Arigæum, and the necessary arrangements for the new settlement there, joined his king with the main body of infantry of the phalanx and the besieging artillery. Next in the proposed progress was the country of the Assakenes; who, Arrian SECT. II.

CHAP. LIII.

says, could bring into the field thirty thousand foot, two thousand horse, and thirty elephants; which he mentions as comparatively a great force among the small nations of these parts. No offence from that people is mentioned or intimated, unless that they declined to acknowlege themselves subjects of the conqueror of the Persians. Whether any former conquest of their country, by Persian kings, afforded a pretence to claim dominion over them history does not say. But the Indians were Barbarians, that is, not Greeks, and therefore, according to the common Grecian tenets, fair objects of subjugation. Alexander proceeded still as if fatigue and danger were his chief delights. Taking the lead of a small body, but of all arms, the river Guzæus crossed his way. Rapidity of current, and a bottom composed of round stones, denying sure footing for man and beast, made the passage, even without hostile opposition, so difficult and hazardous, that the Indians, assembled on the opposite bank, supposed it would not, in face of an enemy, be attempted. Alexander's troops however advancing in regular order to the bank, dashed, without hesitation, into the stream. Probably the fame of his invincibility operated then on the minds of the Indians, and inhanced their alarm. Without waiting to see the event of the struggle with the difficulties of the passage, they fled, and betook themselves to their towns. Alexander proceeded immediately to Massaga, their capital.

Arr. l. 4. c. 26. Plut. v. Alex. p. 698.

In that age, in India, as in Greece, and as in India still at this day, war was a trade, so that a mercenary force was always to be procured for hire. The Assakenes had strengthened themselves in Massaga with such a force, to the amount of seven thousand men. Alexander, with his small advanc-

ed body, incamped before their walls. Confident in superior numbers they sallied to attack him. He, confident in superior arms and discipline, desired more space for pursuing them when he should have put them to flight; and accordingly he led hastily away from the town. The Indians, incouraged thus, pursued in much haste, and in no order. As soon then as their bowshots reached his troops, he ordered to face about, and advance speedily against them. The horse-darters, the bowmen and the Agrians proceeded; Alexander himself led the phalanx. The Indians, astonished at the unexpected event, after having borne the attack of the light-armed, took to flight on the approach of the phalanx. About two hundred were killed; the rest found safety within their walls. Alexander, at the head of the phalanx, approaching these, received an arrow in his foot, but the wound was slight. SECT. II.

Next day the battering engines were brought against the fortification, so little adapted to resist such machines that a practicable breach was quickly made. Assault was immediately attempted, but the resistance was such that Alexander ordered retreat. Next day a wooden tower was advanced, whence bowmen, in shelter, discharged their arrows with effect, and machines threw more weighty weapons. But Grecian discipline did not give the same advantage against numbers, behind the rudest fortifications, as in the field. Such was the resistance of the garrison that the besiegers could not penetrate. On the third day therefore a bridge was thrown from the moveable tower to the broken part of the wall, and the hypaspists, who, through similar arrangement, had taken the great and powerful city of Tyre, were the troops

CHAP. LIII.

sent to storm. But through their eagerness to be forward in the assault, under their prince's eye, the bridge was overloaded, and gave way. Then the Indians pressed upon their distressed enemies, not only with missile weapons from the walls, but, issuing by small sallyports, came even to close action. They were driven back, but Alexander then prudently ordered retreat.

Arr. l. 4. c. 27.

Against the next day however a more perfect bridge was completed, and assault was renewed. The resistance was again obstinate, and the event still doubtful, when the chief of the Indians was killed by a shot from an engine. Then the mercenaries probably began to doubt whether they were equally sure, as before, of the stipulated reward for their service. Many however being alreddy killed, and many more wounded, those yet able, no longer acknowleging any authority but that of their own chiefs, sent out a proposal to capitulate. Alexander, says Arrian, admiring their bravery, rejoiced in the opportunity to save them from destruction. The town was surrendered with the condition that they should pass into his service. Marching out, accordingly, with their arms, they incamped on a hill near the Macedonian camp. For what followed, Alexander has been variously censured, as the facts have been variously related and believed. According to Arrian, he was informed that these mercenaries, averse to serve against other Indians, had resolved to move in the night, and desert their ingagement. Upon this, in early darkness, surrounding their camp with his whole army, he put all to the sword. Proceeding then to the town, he took possession of it as if there had been no capitulation, and the mother and

daughter of the chief of the Assakenes became his prisoners[4]. SECT. II.

The numerous small nations of India seem to have had much of the obstinate attachment of the several Grecian cities each to its separate independency, and a consequent disposition to hostility among oneanother. With no concert, or none of material efficacy, they persevered in resistance, each confiding in its own means; among which the singularly strong posts, afforded by the nature of the country, were principally incouraging. Beside these however they had towns, of which some were considerably populous and well fortified. Bazira and Ora appear to have been the most important. Against the former Alexander sent Cœnus; against the other Attalus; expecting, says Arrian, that information of the catastrophë of the Assakenes would produce reddy submission. If however such was his expectation, he was disappointed, for the effect was the reverse. The Bazirenes trusting in the natural and artificial strength of their town[5], the Orenes in support from some neighboring people, both resolved not to commit themselves by a capitulation. Alexander then led his main body against Ora, leaving only a small force under

[4] Of different accounts of this business, Arrian seems to have selected that least uncreditable to Alexander; and Diodorus, who delighted in glaring colors and strong light and shadow, that most so; for which the eighty-fourth chapter of his seventeenth book may be seen. Plutarch, adverting to the fact, without naming either people or place, observes upon it, Τοῦτο τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἔργοις ἀυλοῦ, τἄλλα νομίμως καὶ βασιλικῶς πολεμήσαντος, ὡς κηλὶς πρόσεστιν. v. Alex. p. 698. It is for the credit of Alexander's history altogether that, among the often varying antient accounts, the most favoring writers have not represented him blameless, while the most adverse have acknowleged great qualities and even great virtues.

[5] Ἀκριβῶς πεπτηχυίαν. Arr. iv. 27. p. 170.

CHAP. LIII.

Cœnus before Bazira. Indian walls were unavailing against the Grecian art of attack, and Indian numbers against the Grecian discipline: Ora was quickly taken, and then the Bazirenes began to despair of the defence even of their stronger situation.

But there was, within their country, an insulated mountain called Aornos, of very extraordinary advantages for a military post. Its circuit at the base was said to be twenty miles; the lowest height of its precipitous sides more than a mile. One practicable path, formed by hand, led to the champain top, where were woods, land fit for tillage enough to employ a thousand men, and running springs of fine water. The Bazirenes, making their way to this place by night, were quickly joined by the population of all the surrounding country. Aornos had the fame of being invincible. 'Report,' says Arrian, 'goes, that even Hercules, 'son of Jupiter failed in attempting to take it. 'But,' he continues, 'whether either the Theban 'Hercules, or the Tyrian, or the Egyptian ever 'reached India, is more than I can affirm. Indeed 'I am inclined to believe the contrary. The dis-'position of men to express, rather beyond than 'short of the reality, whatever they would describe 'as extraordinary, has led to the common phrase 'concerning difficulties, that even Hercules could 'not surmount them; and I think it likely Her-'cules has thus been implicated in the history of 'this mountain.'

Arrian, l. 4. c. 28.

But with or without the passion to emulate or exceed the deeds of Hercules, Alexander's purpose being to hold the country as far as the Indus within his dominion, and connect it by navigation, with the rest of his empire, such a passion could hardly

be needful to admonish him that a post like Aornos, in the midst of a populous and fruitful country, should not be left behind him in the possession of enemies. Those previous measures then which, with these views, prudence would recommend, he proceeded to take. Improving the Indian fortifications of Ora and Massaga with Grecian art, he placed garrisons in them simply as military posts. But he gave Bazira other importance. Improving its fortifications also, he replenished it with inhabitants, and gave it a constitution as a city[6].

During these transactions Hephæstion and Perdiccas had restored the deserted town of Orobatis, and, leaving a garrison there, had proceeded to the Indus and completed the projected bridge. Meanwhile, at the persuasion of the Indian princes, Cophæus and Assagetes, who had attached themselves to Alexander, the principal city of Peucelaotis had surrendered; and then many smaller towns hastened to profit from opportunity afforded to obviate greater evils by following the example. In Peucelaotis Alexander placed a garrison, and appointed Philip, undistinguished by any other name, to the command.

The northern part of India, as far as the Indus, Aornos only excepted, being now reduced to quiet subjection, Alexander committed the command of the whole, with the title of a satrapy, to Nicanor of his band of companions, and then proceeded to measures for reducing that formidable post. At the town of Embolima, not far distant from it, he stationed Craterus, with a part of his army, to

[6] Τὰ μὲν δὴ Ὥρα καὶ Μάσσαγα φρούρια ἐκόσμησεν ἐπὶ τῇ χώρᾳ, τὰ Βάζιρα δὲ πόλιν ἐξεπεποίησε.—Bazira in URBIS modum excoluit. I suppose this, Vulcanius's translation, is as near the original as could be in the Latin language without circumlocution.

CHAP. LIII.

collect magazines, with a view to a protracted blockade, if, through the failure of effective means for assault, that mode of siege must be resorted to. Himself, with a select division, undertook the lead of measures for a quicker execution of the purpose.

The animosities among the Indians, together with Alexander's reputation for generosity, and his means for rewarding largely, made everywhere facilities for him among difficult enterprizes. Some natives of the country now undertook to show a way, not generally known, by which active men, with arms, might reach a commanding part of the mountain. A chosen body was accordingly put under the orders of Ptolemy son of Lagus. Moving by night, they succeeded in gaining the indicated post, unperceived by the enemy. It was a small hill, whence, tho in some degree detached, access to the body of the mountain was easier than from the country below. Ptolemy proceeded immediately to fortify his station; and when all was duly prepared, gave information by a concerted signal. Next day Alexander attempted an assault, hoping that the sight only of Ptolemy's troops, alreddy in possession of a fortified post on the mountain, would so alarm and distract the enemy, that he might make his way good against the difficulties which nature offered on the other sides. But the Indians profited so ably and boldly from the advantages of their situation that they obliged him to abandon his purpose, and, not resting there, proceeded to direct nearly their whole force against Ptolemy. His situation became in consequence critical, for no assistance from friends could reddily reach him. His light troops however, which were of the best of the army, with advantage of ground and from behind lines, plied

Arrian, l. 4. c. 29.

their weapons so efficaciously, that the enemy, without coming in contact with the heavy-armed, at the close of day withdrew. SECT. II.

In the following night Alexander sent orders to Ptolemy, by a trusty Indian intimately acquainted with the ground; for their quarrels among themselves made Indians trusty for Alexander. He had resolved, on the morrow, to endevor himself, with a powerful body, to reach Ptolemy's station by the difficult path by which he had ascended. To obviate interruption from the enemy in this difficult attempt, Ptolemy was directed, not to keep his force, as before, meerly in a threatening attitude behind his lines, but to issue against the enemy, and force attention the farthest that might be from the part by which it was proposed the army should ascend. This was accordingly executed. Yet the Indians resisted with a valor and skill which compelled Alexander repeatedly to relieve the assailing body with fresh troops. Till midday the contest was quite doubtful; and not till near night, by great perseverance, with judicious conduct, the junction with Ptolemy was effected.

But even thus the business was far from completed. The first assault, from the army united on the hill occupied by Ptolemy, was unsuccessful, and it became necessary to incamp there for the night. Next morning at daybreak orders were issued for every man to provide himself immediately with a hundred palisades, which the growth of wood on the hill sides abundantly furnished. In this business they were uninterrupted by the enemy. The next day was employed in forming, with the assistance of the palisades, a causeway

CHAP. LIII.

across the bottom[7] which separated Ptolemy's hill from the body of the mountain. Alexander himself superintending the work, it was, before night, completed to the length of a furlong, of such height that missile weapons might be efficaciously delivered from it, either by hand or by engines, against any endevoring to interrupt the work. During the two following days therefore the business proceeded still more rapidly; and, on the fourth, it afforded such advantage for reaching a kind of promontory projected from the mountain, that a small body of Macedonians, seizing an advantageous opportunity, by a bold exertion reached that projected height, and established themselves on it. Alexander presently joined them there, and thence urged the completion of the causeway.

Arrian, l. 4. c. 30.

The Indians now saw their means of effectual resistance gone. They sent therefore a herald to propose capitulation, and negotiation was begun. But their conduct excited suspicion that their purpose was only to obtain a suspension of attack during daylight, and in the night to withdraw with their arms. Alexander, therefore, instead of measures of hinderance, removed his troops from all situations accommodated to intercept their retreat; but, carefully watching them, when their ill faith became fully manifest, by the actual beginning of their flight, then, with his body-guards, and a division of the hypaspists, he led the way himself to the height they had occupied, and directed pursuit of the fugitives. Many perished by the sword,

[7] Better described in the old language, preserved in the north of England, where the thing is oftener found than in the midland or southern parts, by the term DEAN, on the eastern side of the country, and GILL on the western.

and many among the precipices; which made flight by night, even had no enemy pursued, hazardous, and even to those best acquainted with the ways. SECT. II.

If then, on this occasion, the army was gratified with the imagination of having accomplished what Hercules, with whatever force he commanded, had been unequal to, it could not be politic for Alexander to check the amusing fancy. Perhaps he promoted it by a sacrifice, which the historian mentions to have been performed next day, though to what deity is not said. The instances of infidelity among those of his new subjects to whom he had intrusted confidential situations did not dissuade him from persevering in that policy. Placing a garrison in the mountain rock, he committed the command to Sisicottus, an Indian; who, driven apparently from his own country, had passed to Bactria, and ingaged, with a body of troops attached to him, in the service of Bessus; on whose downfall, being admitted with his troops into that of Alexander, he had, on all occasions, so conducted himself as to win his new soverein's esteem.

While Alexander was ingaged in the siege of Aornos, the brother of the prince of the Assakenes, under the hope that it would certainly detain him long, and perhaps might baffle him at last, had excited a rebellion, and, with a considerable force, taking all the elephants in the country, had withdrawn to the mountains. When therefore Aornos was reduced, Alexander marched for Dyrta, the principal city of Assakene. In his way he found the territory deserted, and, arriving at the city, he found that also without inhabitants. Satisfied then with this evidence that the insurrection was little threatening, he committed the reduction of

CHAP. LIII.

the rebellious Assakenes to his generals Nearchus and Antiochus, and resumed his own march for the Indus.

But the way was difficult, principally from its woods, and afforded great opportunity for an enemy to obstruct his progress. A strong body of pioneers was therefore sent forward to open the way. Proceeding thus, he was met by a deputation from an Indian army, bearing the head and arms of its chief, as a peace-offering, which Alexander's policy would not allow him to refuse[8].

Not yet arrived in the climate where elephants were commonly bred, those animals, scarce and highly valued among the natives, were greatly prized by Alexander. Desirous therefore of re-

[8] For this, unnoticed by Arrian, the concurring testimonies of Diodorus and Curtius, (Diod. l. 17. c. 86. Curt. l. 8. c. 12.) may be admitted, being consonant to both antient and modern accounts of the Indians.

The compilers of the antient Universal History observe upon it, 'How Arrian came to omit this event, we cannot 'pretend to say, unless we suppose that he doubted the truth 'of it, because it was omitted in the memoirs of Aristobulus 'and Ptolemy.' It appears to me far from clear that Arrian has wholly omitted the event, tho he has mentioned neither the chief's name (Aphrices in our copies of Diodorus, Eryces in those of Curtius) nor his catastrophë, as related by those historians. It is observable that in Arrian's account of the rebellion of the Assakenes, the name of the prince their leader is unmentioned, and that, in the accounts of the other two historians of the opposition of Aphrices or Eryces, the name of the people is unmentioned. It seems therefore at least possible that Aphrices or Eryces was the leader of the Assakenes. The matter is little important. Nor does it clearly follow that, if the catastrophë of that prince was unnoticed by both Ptolemy and Aristobulus, therefore such a fact, so consonant with Asiatic manners in general, and Indian particularly, should be discredited; the principal object of those writers having been, as Arrian's after them, a military history of Alexander and of themselves. The conjecture, in the Universal History, that the army of Aphrices was composed mostly of mercenaries, may well be admitted, as consonant with Arrian's account of the Indian military.

covering those which had been carried off by the Assakenes, he had directed Nearchus and Antiochus, among inquiries about all circumstances of the country, to be diligent in search for them. Information then was obtained that the Assakenes, when they deserted their city and plains, had turned their elephants to pasture on the banks of the Indus; and it was farther found, that, among the Indians in Alexander's service, some were professional elephant-hunters. These being sent in pursuit of the animals, brought all to the camp except two, which, as they reported, falling down precipices, had perished. SECT. II.

SECTION III.

Fancies of the Greeks concerning the Expedition of Bacchus to India. Reddy Submission of the City and Province of Nysa to Alexander, and Conquest as far as the River Indus completed.

WHILE the army was within the extensive bounds of the Persian empire, tho among various nations, differing in speech, as in manners, habits, traditions and superstitions, yet the language of government would be everywhere Persian; everywhere, even among the natives, would be many who could speak Persian; and, as many among the Greeks were conversant with the Persian, means for information about any matter of extensive notoriety would not wholly fail for any who desired it. Nevertheless, concerning those Persian provinces which lay beyond all ordinary resort of the Greeks, some of their writers, whether more indulging their fancies, or pursuing a view to profit from popular SECT. III.

CHAP. LIII.

curiosity and credulity, published some very extravagant stories. And now a more favorable field for them was opened. Interpreters would be found still for Alexander and his principal officers; but, for others, means to communicate with the natives would be rare and scanty. Arrian indicates a suspicion that Alexander himself, profiting from these circumstances, promoted the belief of some fictions calculated to assist his purposes; and especially to reconcile the Grecian part of his army to his ulterior views.

Arr. l. 4. c. 2.

Tradition was old among the Greeks that their god Dionysus, called also Bacchus, was taken from the womb of his dying mother Semele, at Thebes in Bœotia, and placed for maturity of birth, by his father Jupiter, in his own thigh, whence he was delivered in due time at Nysa, in that part of the country westward of the Red Sea, now reckoned a part of Egypt, but antiently attributed to Arabia. Tradition also was old that Dionysus, at the head of an army from Greece, penetrated to India, and even conquered a part of that extensive country. Concerning however all circumstances of this conqueror, traditions greatly varied. Hence, among the Grecian writers, comparing those traditions with oneanother, and with matters of more authenticated, tho still obscure, history, some supposed there were three of the name of Dionysus; one Grecian, one Egyptian or Arabian, one Indian, while others inclined to believe Dionysus and Bacchus but additional names or titles of the famed Egyptian conqueror Sesostris.

Arr. l. 5. c. 1. cum mult. al. script. Gr. & Rom.

Eurip. Sophoc.

In the country where Alexander now was, between the rivers Cophen and Indus, was a principal city to which the Greeks, probably following as nearly as they could the Indian pronuntiation,

Arr. l. 5. c. 1.

gave the name of Nyssa. Alexander, on his march toward this city, had just entered the tent prepared for him, when the arrival of a deputation from it was announced. With his helmet and armor still on, and covered as he was with dust, he directed that the deputies should be introduced. Struck with the sight of so renowned a conqueror, in habit so unceremonious yet so warlike, they fell on the ground and held silence. Alexander however kindly greeting them, they rose, and Acuphis, their chief, addressed him thus: 'The 'Nyssæans, O king! through us, beseech you, 'for the sake of the god Dionysus, whom you 'revere, to grant them the continuance of their 'actual free constitution. For Dionysus, after 'he had conquered India, before he returned 'toward the Grecian sea, founded their city, and 'peopled it with his invalid soldiers, who were 'congenial with himself[9], for a perpetual memo-'rial of his victories; as you have founded 'Alexandreia in Egypt, and Alexandreia at Cau-'casus, and are now founding other cities, and 'will found still more; your achievements far ex-'ceeding those of Dionysus. That deity, in honor 'of his nurse Nyssa, gave our city its name, and its 'territory he called Nyssæa; and from his having, 'as our mythology and yours teaches, grown to 'maturity for birth in Jupiter's thigh, he gave to 'the neighboring mountain the name of Meron, 'which, in our language, as in yours, means a 'Thigh. From him we derive that free and regu-'lar government under which we have lived. If 'farther proof were needful that Dionysus was

SECT. III.

9 Οἱ δὴ αὐτῷ καὶ Βάκχοι ἦσαν. Vulcanius has translated this, *Qui ipsi et Bacchi erant*, which the learned annotator Gronovius has allowed to pass without comment.

CHAP. LIII.

'our founder, we have it in this singularity, that 'ivy, the plant sacred to that god, florishes here, 'and is found nowhere else throughout India.'

Arrian, l. 5. c. 2.

'This speech,' the historian says, 'was grateful 'to Alexander, who desired that the traditions of 'the expedition of Dionysus to India, and of his 'being founder of the city of Nyssa, should have 'credit; that so he might himself obtain the esti- 'mation of having alreddy equalled the extent of 'conquest of Dionysus, and soon of having sur- 'passed it; for thus he thought the Macedonians 'would be led to have the same zeal with him- 'self for farther conquest. He therefore reddily 'granted to the Nyssæans the privileges they 'solicited.'

It seems here clearly indicated that official report was made to the army of what passed at the audience of the Nyssæan deputies; and it appears highly probable that, if what is related reälly passed, it was preconcerted with the heads of the Nyssæan government. Nevertheless it is clearly possible that the speech of Acuphis may have differed widely from that reported. For no Greek would understand him speaking his own language; and so opportunity was open for representing it such as might best suit Alexander's purpose.

The Nyssæan constitution, we are informed, was aristocratical; a senate of three hundred holding the principal powers of government. In confirming this constitution Alexander declared his approbation of it, and of the system of law and mode of administration of the Nyssæans. Probably in all his conquests he took some contribution of force to his army. Of the Nyssæans he demanded three hundred horse; but whether through jealousy, or whether proposing honor, he required that one

hundred should be of the senate, with Acuphis at their head. This distressed the Nyssæan leaders. Three hundred horse, they said, or more, they would willingly furnish; but, deprived of one third of their most efficient numbers, they could not answer for the consequences: Double the number of another description they could well spare. In the Nyssæan, as in all free governments, there would be parties; but whether the subtraction of one third of the senate would have indangered the preponderance of the actually ruling party, or only such a number of the senate were averse to the active and hazardous service which Alexander would expect of them, no account shows. Alexander however conceded to the remonstrance; took only the three hundred cavalry which he had demanded, not requiring that any should be senators, and he appointed Acuphis his lieutenant of the province[10]; accepting his son, and his grandson by a daughter, as his substitutes for military service. SECT. III.

Alexander would not quit Nyssa without visiting the antiquities, which were said to prove the foundation of that city by the Grecian Dionysus, or Bacchus, and the mountain Meron, where ivy grew. In his visit to them he was attended by a considerable escort of horse and foot; and the soldiers, in ascending the mountain, delighted with the ivy, which they had not for a long time seen (for in India, says Arrian, even where vines florish ivy is not found) eagerly gathering it, made themselves crowns; singing hymns to Dionysus, and calling on him by his various names. Farther than

[10] Ὑπάρχον. This title, not occurring in Arrian's account of the Persian empire, we find commonly used by him to designate chiefs of provinces in India.

CHAP. LIII.

to establish the credit of the traditions, which possibly may have been reported to the army in the Greek language (somewhat more accommodated to former Grecian belief or fancy than they were delivered, if at all delivered, in the Indian) Alexander sacrificed there to Dionysus, and entertained the principal persons about him with a banquet.

Thus far Arrian appears to have credited the accounts in his time extant. If some writers, he adds, should be believed, some of the eminent personages, entertained on that occasion by the conqueror of Asia, emulated the extravagancies of the bacchanals at the festivals of Dionysus in Greece; running about with wild gestures, as if under inspiration from the god, and uttering the exclamations and invocations commonly used at those festivals[11]. 'I leave this,' says the historian, 'to everyone's opinion; but I cannot intirely agree 'with Eratosthenes of Cyrene, who asserts that the 'disposition of the Macedonians, to gratify Alexan-'der's vanity, produced or spred and confirmed the 'stories of conquests attributed to the gods. Find-'ing a cavern, if we should believe him, among 'the mountains of Paropamisus, and, either hearing 'some story current in the country, or themselves 'combining fancies and rumors, they amused them-'selves with asserting that the mountain there in 'India was Caucasus, extending thus far from the 'Euxine sea, and that the cavern was that in 'which, according to mythology, Prometheus was 'chained, on whose bowels an eagle fed, till Her-'cules, in the course of his eastern conquests, 'passing that way, killed the eagle and set the

Arrian, l. 5. c. 3.

[11] For these may be seen Potter's antiquities of Greece, ch. 20, of the Religion of Greece.

'sufferer at liberty. So also seeing, in the same 'part of India, neat cattle, with a mark burnt on 'their skin resembling a club, they took this for 'proof that Hercules had been there. Similar mat- 'ters concerning the expedition of Dionysus are 'treated by Eratosthenes as fables. For myself, 'all that relates to both those deities I leave to the 'discussion of others.' SECT. III.

SECTION IV.

Circumstances of the Northern part of India beyond the Indus: Alliances formed by Alexander beyond the Indus, and War carried beyond the Hydaspes: The Dominion of Porus conquered: Grecian Colonies established on the Hydaspes.

SECT. IV.

Curiosity appears to have been a passion of Alexander, hardly less than ambition. But with both, as we have before observed, were connected extensive views for benefit to mankind, yet not limited by a much stricter regard for the rights of any forein people than were usually acknowleged among the republican Greeks. With such views he was especially desirous of seeing the Indian ocean, and exploring its shores; and he had accordingly directed Hephæstion to construct a bridge over the Indus for the passage of his army, that he might command both banks, and to build a number of vessels for the transport of necessaries down the stream, and for means of supporting the army on either side from the other. His inducement to postpone this favorite object for the purpose of still extending conquest eastward, not directly stated by Arrian, may yet, in his common defi-

CHAP. LIII.

ciency of political information, be in some degree gathered from his military narrative; which often affords assistance for estimating the political information furnished by writers less judicious, or less careful of authority.

The people beyond the Indus appear to have been less divided into small states, hostile to each other, than those on the Persian side. There was however among them, at this time, extensive apprehension of the ambition of Porus, the sovereign of a large dominion beyond the next great boundary river of the country, the Hydaspes. To them therefore the arrival of a conqueror like Alexander, famed for generosity as for invincibility, was an auspicious event. The principal city in these northern parts, between the Indus and the Hydaspes, is called, by Arrian, Taxila, and its chief Taxiles. But it appears from Diodorus and Curtius that Taxiles was a title; and the name, in our editions of the former, Mophis, of the latter, Omphis. According to the probable account of Diodorus, when Alexander was in Sogdiana, an embassy from Taxiles had attended him, soliciting his imperial protection; and Curtius adds the information that, to ingage his favor, provisions were furnished, and all friendly offices done, to Hephæstion, while employed in preparing for the passage of the Indus. But, according to all the writers, it seems probable that Alexander's resolution was not decided till he had crossed that great river. Taxiles then came himself to wait upon him, and the result was, that Alexander undertook to give him security in his dominion, by invading the territory of Porus, whose ambition he dreaded.

Arr. l. 5. c. 8.

Diod. l. 17. c. 86.

Curt. l. 8. c. 12.

On the left bank of the Indus the army halted some time, and a solemn sacrifice was performed

there, according to the Grecian ritual. A sacrifice for the army being a feast for the army, the purpose of Alexander's piety, obviously, was to infuse cheerfulness under the view of new difficulties and dangers to be encountered, when all might have been supposed alreddy ended, with wealth and glory, beyond common measure, alreddy acquired. The march was then resumed for Taxila. There the disposition of the people seconding that of their chief, all was made satisfactory for the army and its commander. Pleased with their conduct, Alexander granted a desired addition to their territory; at the expence of what other prince or people the historian has not said. The fame however of his liberality, combined with that of his victories, produced advantageous consequences. At Taxila where, according to the chronology of Diodorus (for Arrian is often deficient in marking seasons) he took his winter-quarters, the brother of Ambisares, who held a principality in the Indian highlands, arrived, at the head of an embassy, soliciting friendship and bringing presents; the custom still of the Indians to those whom, fearing, they would honor; and a similar deputation arrived from Doxares, designated by Arrian as chief of the law[12]; perhaps a chief of the bramins.

SECT. IV.

Arr. l. 5. c. 7.

Leisure then, on account of the season, occurring, Alexander gratified the army with another sacrifice, and added the entertainment of gymnic games, and equestrian military exercises; whether simply horseraces, or perhaps rather contests in arms, like the tilts and tournaments of our forefathers. The disposition of prince and people to admit his sovereinty, for the sake of his powerful

[12] Νομάρχου.

CHAP. LIII.

protection against the pretensions of one to whom they were averse, appears to have in some degree invited him to leave here, as a colony, those of his army, become by wounds or fatigue, since his last measure of the kind, less fit for service to insue. To superintend the establishment a Macedonian, Philip son of Machatas, was appointed to the dignity and authority of satrap, with a military force under his command.

The great king, Porus, whose ambition the Indians between the Indus and the Hydaspes dreaded, seems to have been checked in his purpose of invasion by information that they had gained, from a country before unheard of, so extraordinary a conqueror for their protector. Instead of crossing the Hydaspes, for which he had prepared, he sat down with his army behind that boundary river. Alexander resolved upon, what is often the most effectual mode of defence for a country, attacking the enemy; and, in the actual circumstances, it seemed the only way to give security to subjects who had voluntarily adopted his empire. With this view he ordered a sufficient number of the boats, which had been prepared for the navigation of the Indus, to be brought by land to the Hydaspes. We have seen, in the authentic narratives of Thucydides and Xenophon, intire vessels of war, of the antient construction, with the scanty means of the Grecian republics, conveyed some miles over land. For easier carriage the far greater distance for Alexander's purpose, the vessels were cut in two, and some in three, to be put together again on their arrival[13].

[13] Cutting vessels in two, to lengthen them, is a well-known practice of modern times.

SECT. IV.

Spring was advanced[14]; the rainy season in that part of India, when also the melting of the snow on the range of mountains, which Arrian still calls Caucasus, assisted to fill the rivers. In summer and autumn the Hydaspes is in parts fordable. Alexander gave out that he meant to wait for that favorable season, and collected stores in his station accordingly. Nevertheless he made movements for the purpose of alarming, as if he would attempt the passage with his boats. About fifteen miles above the enemy's station circumstances afforded opportunities of which he thought he might avail himself. The shores on both sides were woody, and in the stream was a wooded iland of some extent. Boats then were so conveyed by land, and so deposited, as not to be seen by the enemy, tho watchful, on the opposite shore. Skins also, the soldier's bedding, were prepared in the way usual for rafts.

Preparation being completed, the command of the camp, with the main body of the infantry, was committed to Craterus, while Alexander himself, as in ordinary course, undertook the business of most critical difficulty and danger, the passage by the iland. Midway, between the camp and the iland, a strong body was stationed under Meleager, Attalus, and Gorgias. Arrian, l. 5. c. 12.

Arrian seems to have reckoned the Indian king's force toward forty thousand foot, about six thousand horse, four hundred and twenty chariots, and more than two hundred elephants; and he says it was in good condition and well disciplined[15]. c. 14,15.

[14] Ἦν γὰρ ὥρα ἔτους, ἡ μετὰ τροπὰς μάλιστα ἐν θέρει τρέπεται ὁ ἥλιος. Arr. l. 5. c. 9.

[15] Diodorus, in our copies of his work, reports Porus's army above fifty thousand foot, three thousand horse, more than

CHAP. LIII.

Alexander's numbers are mentioned by none, but it is evident that his means were great; and Arrian sufficiently shows that his force on the bank of the Hydaspes was powerful. In addition to his Grecian numbers, and those from the southern part of his new empire, he had cavalry, probably the best of Asia, from Arachosia, Paropamisus, Bactria, Sogdia, Scythia, and Daä. Probably his Asiatic infantry, in consideration of the extent of country he had in view to traverse, and his desire of quick progress, was not proportionally numerous.

Depending then much on his cavalry, his fear was of the enemy's elephants, which horses, unused to them, will not approach. To provide facility therefore for landing, where he proposed, under his own lead, he directed Craterus to make all demonstration of the purpose of crossing near the enemy's station, with the view to retain his elephants there; but not actually to cross till it might be ascertained that the elephants were moving toward where the crossing had been effected. A thunderstorm, on that night, with heavy rain, assisted the purpose of concealment, and, ceasing toward daybreak, did not interrupt the passage of the river. Alexander, taking with him Ptolemy, Lysimachus, Seleucus and Perdiccas (the three former afterward known as sovereins of powerful kingdoms) led the way in a triaconter. As they passed the iland in the river, they came unavoidably in view of an outpost of the enemy; not of force to resist, but whence intelligence was hastened to Porus.

Arr. l. 5. c. 13.

one thousand chariots, and a hundred and thirty elephants; our copies of Curtius give him only thirty thousand foot, three hundred chariots, without notice of other cavalry, and eighty-five elephants.

SECT. IV.

Reaching land, Alexander was the first to leap ashore, and all the cavalry debarked safely; but, instead of the main land, it was found to be an iland of considerable extent, with a channel intervening, not broad, but, with the rain of the night, become so deep that it was apprehended the boats would be wanted for reaching the desired shore. Thus opportunity would be given for Porus to bring up his elephants, which must make it impossible to land the horses. With diligent trial however a ford was found, which even the infantry could pass, tho with the water breast high. Thus the whole force, about five thousand horse and six thousand foot, without opposition reached the enemy's side of the river.

As soon then as arrangement for the business in view was completed, Alexander hastened forward with his cavalry; satisfied that, if Porus came against him with overbearing numbers, he could avoid contest till he might be supported; if with a smaller force he might defeat it. The bowmen, under the command of Tauron, were ordered to follow with the utmost speed, and the heavy-armed, as heavy-armed best might; all having to incounter the difficulties of marshy ground which, to a great extent, bordered the river.

He had not proceeded far when, over the flat, a hostile force, was at a distance, seen approaching. Uncertain whether this might be a part or the whole of the enemy's army, he sent forward his horse-bowmen to check them. Assured then, by his scouts, of the hostile numbers, and of their kind, about two thousand horse with a hundred and twenty chariots, he hastened at the head of his regular cavalry against them. They hardly stood a charge, to which indeed they were unequal;

CHAP. LIII.

the chariots, from the swampiness of the ground being little capable of acting, and the cavalry too inferior in number[15]. In pursuit about four hundred were slain, and, among them, their young commander, the son of Porus. All the chariots were taken, with their horses.

Porus was quickly informed of this disaster. To move from his actual situation was hazardous, because of the threatening aspect of the force under Craterus. Yet, after short consideration, only leaving a small body of foot with a few elephants to disturb the landing, if that general should cross the river, he hastened, with his principal force, about thirty thousand foot, four thousand horse, three hundred chariots, and two hundred elephants, immediately against his imperial opponent. Knowing the country, or well informed of it, in a tract extensively marshy he halted on a sandy plain, sufficiently firm for the action of both cavalry and chariots, and there formed in order of battle. His elephants he placed in front, at intervals of about a hundred feet; his chariots on the same line, in the wings; his infantry behind the elephants, and his cavalry behind the chariots.

Arr. l. 5. c. 16.

Alexander approaching, and viewing the ground and the enemy's order, presently observed their defects. In front, assault would be obviously rash. Horse would not approach the elephants, and his infantry was not sufficiently numerous for the attempt. But the wings were very infirmly

[15] This, Arrian tells us, was Ptolemy's account, which he preferred; Ptolemy, having been present, and about Alexander's person. Aristobulus, he says, reported somewhat differently, and others, he adds, related circumstances which seem to have been known to neither.

SECT. IV.

supported by the ground on either side. He had acquired extensive experience of the marshes on the banks of the Hydaspes, and he judged that, swampy now with heavy rain recently fallen, they would impede the action of the enemy's chariots, yet would not deny action for his own horse. Presently therefore he determined, without waiting for his main body of infantry under Craterus, immediately to use his superior force of cavalry. With this view, taking himself the lead of the greater part of it, he committed the infantry to Seleucus, Antigonus, and Tauron, with orders to avoid ingaging till they should see the arrangement of the enemy's infantry disturbed through his movement. A smaller body of horse he put under the command of Cœnus, directing him to turn the enemy's right, and, if possible, proceeding rapidly behind his whole line, to attack the rear of the cavalry of his left, which he proposed himself to attack in flank.

The action was begun in front by Alexander's horse-bowmen, in number about a thousand, against the chariots of the enemy's left. Their weapons, distressing the charioteers, and reaching the cavalry beyond them, ingaged the attention of both, while Alexander, with his choicest body of horse, gained their flank. Observing this, they were changing their front to receive him, when Cœnus, having ably executed his orders, appeared in their rear. A double front thus became necessary for them, and before they could complete the arrangement, Alexander, who had watched the opportunity, made his charge. Presently thrown into confusion, they retreated toward their elephants, as to a friendly fortification.

Arr. l. 5. c. 17.

CHAP. LIII.

Thus arose opportunity, for which Alexander had prepared his generals of infantry to make advantage. The phalanx, it appears, was furnished for the occasion with darts, as the Roman legionaries with the pïlum; for the long spear, ordinarily its only weapon, highly formidable against men and horses, would be of no efficacy against elephants. Their darts, the historian says, disabled many of the riders, and annoyed the beasts themselves. But wherever an elephant went forward against the phalanx, in however close order with protruded spears, he broke the order and made his way. The Indian cavalry, meanwhile habituated to elephants, went familiarly among them, and, thus gaining protection and incouragement, formed again in a body, and again met Alexander. But Cœnus had now joined him: numbers and discipline together gave preponderance, and the Indian cavalry fled again toward the elephants for protection.

Then, in the Indian army, all became confusion. Infantry, horse, and elephants were mixed. Some of those formidable beasts, raging with wounds, became ungovernable. Some had lost those riders who should have governed them, and then were no less formidable to friends than foes. Some wounded, all tired, at length, as if by consent, refusing farther efforts in the direction against the enemy, bellowing in concert, they withdrew. Alexander, observing this, directed the phalanx to take its proper formation, with closed shields and protruded spears, and press upon the no longer formidable enemy; and, the cavalry at the same time charging, the victory was quickly complete.

SECT. IV.

Arr. l. 5. c. 18.

Meanwhile Craterus had crossed the river, and, with fresh troops, intercepted the alreddy fatigued retiring troops. Three thousand of the Indian cavalry are said to have been killed; mostly on the field of battle; and near twenty thousand foot: all the elephants, and all the chariots, not destroyed were taken. A second son of Porus was among the slain, and most of his principal officers. Porus, himself, while any remained to fight about him, was, on his elephant, in the thickest of the contest. He wore a coat of mail of uncommon excellence; but that, according to the universal practice of generals among the antients, he might be an example in action for his soldiers, his right arm must be free for the use of weapons, and his right shoulder was therefore less protected. Eminent among his troops he was especially an object for the enemy's aim, and, in his right shoulder he received a wound. Disabled thus for the office of a soldier, and through the slaughter of many and flight of most of the rest of his troops, the business of a general no longer remaining for him, he at length allowed his attendants to turn his elephant, and, among the last, he withdrew. Alexander, informed that he was in danger from the indiscriminate fury of pursuers, and generously desirous to obviate it, sent Taxiles after him; who, on a swift horse overtaking him, said he brought a message from the Macedonian king. But the indignant Indian prince, seeing an antient enemy, continued his way, and, disabled as he was, threatened him with his weapon. Taxiles upon this withdrew, and hastened back to report the occurrence. Alexander, not thus driven from his purpose, sent several others, and among them Meroës, an Indian, long known to Porus, and always upon

CHAP. III.

friendly terms with him. Porus, at length overtaken, was suffering severely from fatigue, and especially from thirst. Persuaded then, or, rather, through inability to proceed, necessitated to stop for refreshment, he at length consented to return and surrender himself.

Alexander, informed of his approach, advanced toward him on horseback, attended by his band of companions. Admiring his form and size (he is said to have been a very handsome man above common height)[16] and still more the unbroken majesty of his demeanor, he desired him to speak his wishes. Porus answered, 'to be treated as a king.' 'That' replied Alexander, 'shall be on my own 'account; but I desire you to speak your wishes 'on your own.' Porus answered, 'all I desire is 'what I have alreddy said.' Treaty was thus concluded. Alexander restored Porus to his throne; even inlarged his dominion, and ever after found in him a faithful friend. Such is Arrian's account; and, for his general scrupulousness he may perhaps be trusted here, even for words spoken; Ptolemy, his principal guide, if he did not hear them, having been in a situation to have all information from those in the way of hearing.

After the battle, among the victor's earliest cares was the burial of the slain. Perhaps official accounts, Arrian's authorities, would exaggerate

[16] More than five cubits. (Arr. l. 5. c. 19.) Plutarch says most writers allowed him more than four cubits and a palm. v. Alex. p. 639. B. Plutarch mentions letters of Alexander, (p. 638,) giving account of this victory over Porus. How it has been that numerous letters of Alexander reporting his progress in conquest, mentioned by Plutarch, have remained wholly without notice from Arrian, is a question that apparently should have ingaged the attention of critics, but of which I have never met with discussion.

SECT. IV.

the loss on the Indian side, and extenuate that on the Grecian. If our copies of Arrian should be trusted, of six thousand infantry ingaged, only eighty fell; but it may seem not unlikely that he wrote eight hundred[17]. Of the cavalry it is acknowleged that two hundred and twenty were killed, of whom twenty were of the body intitled royal companions[18]. Without distinction they seem to have been esteemed intitled to extraordinary honors, or Alexander's policy led him to bestow such. The funeral, in addition to the ordinary rites, was celebrated with gymnic exercises and horseraces, in the manner of the funerals of eminent men in the heroïc ages, described by Homer.

Of little reäl importance, yet, for the extensive celebrity of the animal, and for the honor testified by Arrian to have been paid to his memory, it must not be omitted to mention that Alexander's favorite horse died here. On this occasion only he is found mentioned by that writer, whose words on the subject, as nearly as they may be rendered, will, among all that has been transmitted on it from antiquity, be perhaps most worthy of the reader's attention, if not even alone fit for serious history.

[17] From ΟΓΔΟΗΚΟΣΙΟΙ to ΟΓΔΟΗΚΟΝΤΑ, the change, as those who have observed the various forms of Grecian letters, in writing and ingraving, will be aware, might be less violent than the differences often found in different manuscripts of the same work.

[18] I am induced to hope and believe I have given fairly the sense of Arrian's succinct account of this celebrated battle; tho some of his phrases have been so disturbed by careless or ignorant transcribers, (a misfortune to which the antient military writers have been, more perhaps than all others, subject) that I would not undertake to give an exact translation of them, even with allowance to admit the learned Gronovius's proposed corrections; which however are valuable.

CHAP. LIII.

Arrian, l. 5. c. 19.

'On the field of the battle, fought with Porus,' says Arrian, 'Alexander built a town, which he 'named Nicæ, Victory-town; and, where he cross-'ed the Hydaspes, another, which he called Buce-'phala, in honor of his favorite horse, Bucephalas, 'which, in his thirtieth year, died there[19]. That 'horse was tall, and of generous temper, and would 'admit none but Alexander to mount him. From 'a mark of a bull's head imprinted on him, he had 'his name Bucephalas, bullhead; tho some say that 'a natural white mark on his forehead, resembling 'a bull's head, his general color being black, gave 'occasion for the name. This horse, being in the 'Uxian country, missing, Alexander caused procla-'mation to be promulgated, that if the horse was 'not brought to him, he would put the whole nation 'to the sword; and presently the horse was 'brought. Such was Alexander's estimation of the 'animal, and such the fear of that prince among 'the Barbarians.'

SECTION V.

Constitutions of Indian States: Subordinate Sovereinties: Free Cities; Trade on the Indus: War prosecuted by Alexander in India.

The conquered Indian prince's magnanimity, and Alexander's generosity, have been, from their age to this, themes for declamatory writers. Alexander's policy for his Indian conquests; how he

[19] Error in transcription of the numeral here, according to all accounts of this famous horse, may be suspected.

accommodated his political arrangements to his generosity, so that his acquisitions remained, not to him only, but long to his successors, has not been with equal diligence transmitted. Nevertheless Arrian's narrative, checked, as apparently it was, by his situation under a despotic government, affords indications deserving attention; and, events within our own times having brought circumstances of that great and variously interesting country more within the sphere of Europeän information, the diligence and learning and talents of recent inquirers, some visiting the countries, others comparing all accounts, have warranted the exactness of antient reports, especially Arrian's, of Alexander's transactions there. SECT. V.

Whether Porus was a completely independent prince, or, like many powerful Indian chiefs of modern times, owed a degree of feälty to some paramount soverein, seems uncertain: but the latter appears probable. Thus he would be the more prepared to be satisfied, in his restored dominion, to acknowlege Alexander as a superior, holding, as he appears to have done, perfect friendship with him. Arrangement with that prince then being settled, Alexander committed to Craterus the business of superintending the building of the newly founded towns, and giving order to the population established there, while he proceeded himself to farther conquest. Arrian, l. 5. c. 20.

Bordering on the kingdom of Porus was the country of the Glausees, or Glaucaneeks; of no great extent, but highly fruitful, and, through diligent use of great opportunities for commerce, more than ordinarily populous and wealthy. Of thirty-seven towns within it, the least is said to have had five thousand inhabitants; some above ten thou-

CHAP. LIII.

sand; and of numerous villages, some were hardly inferior in population to the towns. Popular government is mentioned, by Arrian, as not uncommon among the Indian nations, and such seems to have been that of the Glausees. With the too ordinary carelessness of the antients about just cause against those they called barbarians, the historian has omitted mention of any for war with this people; unless it may be understood from him that they had been enemies to Porus, who, with all his great qualities, evidently an ambitious prince, may have put forward pretensions adverse to their claim of independency. Alexander however determining that they should be his subjects, led a select body into their country. Probably the terms he offered were liberal, in the spirit of the Macedonian free constitution; and probably they felt need of a protector, and were more disposed to trust Alexander than any neighboring potentate. However, without battle or siege, they came to a composition with him. Of the terms we are uninformed; for, from antient writers, whether themselves living under monarchies or republics, we have, on such subjects, rarely more than sparks of intelligence. The historian's expression here however implies some compact for their benefit, under which the country of the Glausees was put under the superintendency of Porus.

The fame of the victory, and of Alexander's generosity toward the magnanimous defeated prince, operated extensively. Abissares, who, before the battle, had proposed to join Porus, now sent his brother to Alexander, with a present of money and forty elephants. Alexander, not satisfied so, commanded that he should come himself. Meanwhile it was an object, for the future peace of this portion

of his now vast empire, to reconcile Porus with Taxiles. This was effected, and then the latter was dismissed, to resume, in peace; the government of his also increased dominion. SECT. V.

In this rich, and populous, and warlike country, tho there was not at all the reddy disposition to submission which had favored Alexander in the western and southern provinces of the Persian empire, yet the divisions of the people among themselves evidently much facilitated his conquests, and also suggested the policy which should make the acquisition lasting. The highlanders everywhere in the habit of looking upon their mountains as sure refuge, were reddiest to rebel. The people of Assakene, a portion of the highlands whence flow the various streams which meet in the Indus, assassinated the commander of the forces which had been left to secure their obedience, and rose in revolt. But an Indian who had been appointed satrap of that country, Sisicottus, remained faithful, and hastened intelligence of the circumstances. About the same time Alexander was gratified with assurance of the fidelity of a Persian, Phradaphernes, to whom he had intrusted a highly important office, that of satrap of the two great border provinces of Bactria and Hyrcania. With a body of Thracians, which had been put under his command, he came, according to orders, to attend the king.

Against the revolted Assakenes then, to support his Indian satrap, Sisicottus, he joined a Persian, Tyriaspes, in command with a Macedonian, Philip. For himself the political circumstances of his new Indian friend, Porus, furnished pretence for continuing that activity in war, to which he had now, from the age of twenty, been so habituated, that it

CHAP. LIII.

seems to have become as necessary to his injoyment as to a keen sportsman the pleasures of the chace. There was another Indian prince called Porus, whether it were name or title, hostile to the great man, his namesake, now Alexander's friend.

Arr. l. 5. c. 21. This prince had been forward, as we have seen Taxiles, to declare his submission to Alexander; not indeed personally, like Taxiles, but by a deputation. Yet when, having done nothing farther to earn friendship, he learnt that his enemy of his own name not only was restored to dominion, but to inlarged dominion, and had gained high esteem with the conqueror, he took alarm.

His principality was separated from that of the other Porus by the great river Akesines, and from nations farther eastward by another great river

c. 20. the Hydraotes. Throughout India, or at least the western part of that great country, if there was anywhere an extensive empire, it was like that of the Mogul lately, unable to maintain its claimed superiority over subject potentates. As we proceed we still find the country divided into governments under numerous chiefs, like the rajahs and soobadars of modern India. Among the various people beyond the Hydraotes, the Cathayans had obtained reputation for superior courage and military dex-

c. 22. terity. In alliance with them were the Oxydracs and Mallians; whose country the great Porus, before his war with Alexander, had invaded, and, tho assisted by powerful allies, yet with no success. Hence their friendship was likely to be open to any who would be his enemy. The other Porus therefore, whether more decided by policy, or, as Arrian says, by passion, being vehemently hostile to his namesake, resolved to embrace the reddy alliance of those people, rather than maintain his ingage-

ment with Alexander. Despairing nevertheless of power to defend his own dominions, against which invasion was reddy, he withdrew into their country, with all the military force he could ingage. SECT. V.

In this decision he seems to have failed either of courage or judgement; for the river Akesines, the boundary of his territory on the threatened side, afforded uncommon advantage for defence. It was the only Indian river, of which, Arrian says, Ptolemy had stated the width and depth. According to that eminent eyewitness, if remaining manuscripts may be trusted, the width was fifteen stades; which, according to the lowest computation of the Grecian stade, would be seven furlongs; perhaps, however, spreding so in the rainy season only, or with the melted snow from the mountains[19]. With this it was of great rapidity, and abounding with interruptions of rock, producing whirlpools. To cross this formidable stream, a large body of Alexander's army was imbarked, some in boats, the rest on stuffed skins, or on rafts borne on such. Of the boats, many, splitting on the rocks, were lost, and skill in swimming availing little among the whirlpools, many men were drowned. The buoyant skins, less injured by

[19] Credit to the MSS. for such a width of the river, in the report of such an author as Ptolemy, Dr. Vincent has been disposed to deny; perhaps having never had opportunity to see how streams, by whose channels the melting snows of extensive mountains have their vent, occasionally spred wherever the confinement of lofty banks of rock ceases, and permanently mark the extraordinary space over which their waters occasionally roll. Possibly Ptolemy may have meant to describe the width of the channel so indicated, and not of the water which Alexander actually crossed. Nevertheless the frequent doubtfulness of numbers stated in antient MSS. must, as the learned and able commentator observes, be acknowleged.

CHAP. LIII.

collision, carried their freight more safely. This struggle with nature, however was so far successful as to give footing on the enemy's land, and then Porus, in whose cause the expedition had been professedly undertaken, was sent back to raise forces, of the best kind that India could furnish, and to bring as many elephants as could be obtained: Cœnus was directed to superintend the passage of the main body of the army, and to collect necessaries from the subdued and friendly territories. Alexander himself, conformably to his usual choice, took the laborious and hazardous business of pursuing (according to Arrian's description it might be called hunting) the fugitive prince, whom the historian distinguishes here by an epithet, the bad Porus[20].

The river Hydraotes, equally broad with the Akesines, but less rapid, crossed his way[21]. Eager to pursue his purpose, yet provident of all circumstances, he appointed Craterus to coöperate with Cœnus in the collection of supplies to the greatest extent that might be; and, desiring to leave nothing hostile behind him, he committed two phalanges[22], and two brigades of cavalry[23], to Hephæstion, to

[20] Porus, according to Vincent (on Nearch. p. 19,) was not a name, but a title, having only the Greek termination added to the Indian word Poor, meaning a prince or soverein.

[21] Vincent, in his variety of diligent investigation, has bestowed much care on that of the names of the principal Indian rivers; which are found, in the old language of the country, generally to have had analogy with those given by the Greek writers; but, in many instances have been totally changed by some later conquerors of the country. The modern name of the Akesines he gives, as in our orthography, Chenab, of the Hydraotes, Ravee.

[22] I do not recollect any former mention by Arrian, any more than by any older writer, of the phalanx as a determinate division of the heavy-armed infantry of an army.

[23] Ἱππαρχίαι.

SECT. V.

bring to obedience that part of the country between the rivers, which had been under the dominion of the fugitive, called the bad Porus; with direction that all should be placed under the authority of the friendly prince of the same name. On the Hydraotes, according to Arrian, were some independent cities. Through means opened in our days it has been ascertained that a great trade has been carried on for many centuries (in the opinion of the able commentator on Nearchus, greater in antient than in modern ages) upon the Indus, and the rivers communicating with it. Alexander would be supreme wherever he could carry his arms; but he required those cities to acknowlege, under him, the dominion of Porus. Nevertheless, if the sovereinty of Porus over those Indian small republics was only as liberal as that of the Persian kings over the Greeks within their empire, they would probably not be sufferers, but rather gainers by the establishment of such superintending authority; and, allowing the credit which seems due to the arguments and opinions of the very able and careful inquirer just noticed, it could not be with the purpose of abridging their just freedom, and so checking their commerce, but, on the contrary, of assuring protection equally to both, that Alexander directed all his regulations.

Vincent on Nearchus.

His arrangements for the conquered countries being made, he proceeded on his proposed expedition, with a small army, but carefully chosen. Information reached him that the Cathayans and their allies were assembled at Sangala, a principal city, where they proposed to wait for him. In the second day's march from the river he came to a fortified town of the Adraïst Indians, who submitted under a capitulation. A day's rest was here

Arrian, l. 5. c. 22, 23.

CHAP. LIII.

given to the army. Proceeding on the morrow, he came in view of Sangala. There he found the Indians incamped without the town, on a hill surrounded with a tripple rampart of waggons[24]. Alexander, after carefully observing everything, and forming his estimate of the enemy's force, resolved upon immediate attack. He sent forward first his horse-bowmen, to annoy from a distance. This not provoking the enemy to advance, and the other cavalry, with which he usually charged, being, in the circumstances, useless, he dismounted, and took the lead of his infantry. Quickly he became master of the first line of carriages. At the second the Indians made a stouter resistance; but the soldiers of the phalanx, better armed than the Indians, for defence as well as for close action, and able, with their large shields, to defend one another, removed some of the carriages, and pressing through the intervals, drove the enemy to their third line. There no stand was made; but the check it gave to pursuit was successfully used for reaching present safety within the town walls. Alexander, judging from experience of Indian practices, expected that the town would be deserted by night; and he judged the attempt would be made where a lake near the wall, tho fordable, interrupted the investment, which he had begun. His suspicion, according to the historian's account, seems to have been corroborated by information from deserters. To obviate such a purpose he placed a body consisting of three thousand hypaspists, all the Agrians, and one taxis of bowmen, under the orders of Ptolemy the historian. That general, in prosecution of the

Arrian, l. 5. c. 24.

[24] Ἀμάξας. Arr. l. v. c. 22. Ἀμάξων, c. 23.

SECT. V.

duty thus committed to him, collected the carriages deserted in the action before the town; and, in early night, placed them in the way which it was expected the Indians would take. As was expected, the Indians issued about the fourth watch; but quickly falling in with the impediments prepared, and hearing the hostile trumpets sound, they hastened back, not without considerable loss.

Presently after Porus arrived with a reïnforcement of five thousand men and some elephants, and by this time engines for battering the walls were completed. But before they could be put in action, a part of the wall was ruined by mining, and the town was taken by storm. Seventeen thousand Indians, if our copies of Arrian may be trusted, were slain on the occasion; notwithstanding which, the surviving captives were more than seventy thousand. Five hundred only of these being stated to have been cavalry, and yet three hundred chariots of war being said to have been found[25], it may seem probable that a large proportion of mounted men had found means to escape by flight[26]. Whether rather error of tran-

[25] Ἅρματα. The carriages of which the Indians formed their tripple rampart, are four times mentioned by the name of Ἁμάξαι, waggons or carts. The Latin translator has confounded these with the ἅρματα, by rendering both equally *Currus;* and the learned critic and editor Gronovius, insultingly severe upon him on many occasions, not more important, has left this confusion unnoticed.

[26] The learned commentator on the voyage of Nearchus has supposed Arrian to have stated not only the 17,000 slain, but the more than 70,000 prisoners, together 87,000, as the number of TROOPS in Sangala. Arrian's expression is τῶν Ἰνδῶν, Indian people, leaving it uncertain how many were soldiers. That historian's account, however, as Dr. Vincent has remarked, clearly indicates a great and wealthy population.

CHAP. LIII.

scribers, or exaggeration in report from authority, which the historian, always scrupulous of authority, followed, may be most suspected in the account of the slain and prisoners, not less there appears ground for supposing a politic concealment of lives lost on the victorious side; for only about a hundred being said to have been killed, the wounded, living objects of public observation, are acknowleged to have been twelve hundred; several of them officers of high rank[27], and one of the highest, Lysimachus, who afterward attained regal dignity.

Immediately after the sack of Sangala, Alexander dispatched Eumenes with three hundred horse, to two free cities in alliance with its people, with assurance that, if they submitted and received him as a friend, no ill should befall them, but they should be liberally treated, as all free Indian states, so conducting themselves, had been. Information however of the catastrophe of Sangala having reached them before Eumenes could arrive, they had deserted their town. Alexander pursued them. In the historian's account reasonable cause does not appear; but the result of his anger (it may be hoped not of his direct command) was, that tho the greater part were too far advanced to be reddily overtaken, about five hundred of those who had less ability for rapid flight were killed by his pursuing troops. All the conquered territory he gave to those free cities which had reddily accepted his offered terms. Porus was detached with his own Indian army to place garrisons where it might be judged expedient; the expediency being, apparently, to be measured by the need which the people of the

[27] Ηγεμόνες.

friendly towns might have for protection against hostile neighbors, when the imperial army should be withdrawn [28]. SECT. V.

SECTION VI.

Growing Extravagance of Alexander's Purposes. Discontent of the Army. Forced concession to its Wishes. Arrangement for the conquered Indian Provinces.

In proceeding southward and eastward from the vast body of highlands, whence the many great rivers of India flow, the country still improved in richness and population. The Hyphasis was the next stream in the way [29]. Beyond it, according to all report, the land was highly cultivated. The nearer provinces were, according to Arrian, under a well administered aristocratical government; the people orderly; good husbandmen and good soldiers. A great soverein was said to reside far eastward; but whether the nearer countries were within his claim of empire seems uncertain. Thus far Alexander may have pursued conquest on principles more justifiable than the republican Greek maxim, that it was lawful for Greeks to subdue, inslave, or even extirpate, any people, not of Grecian blood and language. But here the better principle, if ever regarded, seems to have been SECT. VI. Arr. l. 5. c. 25.

[28] We have seen such a measure often necessary for the security of towns of republican Greece. But Arrian's conciseness here, as sometimes elsewhere, leaves the modern reader in some doubt of his meaning.

[29] Now, in Vincent's English orthography of the oriental name, the Biah.

CHAP. LIII.

thrown by. Curiosity and thirst of conquest were so become settled passions, and a view to rest so intolerable, that, without any other motive indicated by antient writers, he would now prosecute conquest into that populous, rich, and quiet country; and accordingly he marched to the Hyphasis.

Apparently he thought the fame of that country for wealth would suffice to reconcile his army to his views. War in Lesser Asia having been always inviting for the Greeks, war in a country richer than Lesser Asia, he might suppose, would now be inviting; and, as he himself delighted in laborious and hazardous adventures, others would have the same propensity. Perhaps, for his new recruits, and the younger men of the army in general, he may thus have reasoned well: to return home and have fortune still to seek would be little alluring for them. But it was not so among the older men, and especially those of the higher ranks, alreddy possessed of great riches. Issuing from Macedonia with uncertain hopes, rising rapidly to great wealth and splendid circumstances, when only Lesser Asia, Syria, and Egypt were reduced, alreddy many would be looking ernestly toward the injoyment of their advancement, in other kind of leisure and other kind of independency than military service could admit. Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis with their treasuries, being now added, and the rich kingdom of Media having fallen without a blow, an end to the protracted war in the rough climate and among the fierce nations of the north, could not fail to have been anxiously looked for among all ranks. There however, tho the soldiers could neither clearly see, nor would greatly care for a reasonable object, whence, in parts of the army, vehement discontent appears to have arisen, which

SECT. VI.

the military historians, to whose authority Arrian generally limited his narrative, would avoid to report, yet to the officers generally, and especially the superior officers, the expediency, or even necessity of that war, for securing the advantages beyond calculation alreddy gained, would be obvious. But a new scene was now opened. A populous and wealthy continent was found to be yet before them, of extent utterly unknown; upon the conquest of which their prince was bent, among labors and dangers utterly incalculable, with the final object utterly undefined. Dissatisfaction grew among men of all ranks, even Alexander's greatest favorites and most confidential friends. The Macedonian constitution, as we have seen, warranted to a Macedonian army a great degree of the authority of a popular assembly. The civic troops of the Greek republics not less claimed the same privilege; but Arrian mentions the Macedonians particularly as now meeting to debate on the king's purposes. In dissatisfaction with these, he says, all seemed agreed; and some, he adds, went so far as to declare that, if the king required them to go into new wars, his command should no longer be obeyed.

Alexander, informed of the dangerous discontent, appears to have taken, with great good temper, the course becoming the soverein of a people claiming the rights of the Macedonian kingdom and the Grecian republics. Without distinction between them, he assembled the generals and taxiarcs of both, exclusively of the officers of the mercenaries, who served on quite other terms. Reports of words spoken in private, or in miscellaneous conversation, or in the heat of military action, must always be subject to much doubt; but as it appears to have been hardly less customary, among the Greeks of

CHAP. LIII.

Alexander's age, than with us at present, to note and publish the speeches of eminent men in deliberative assemblies, what Arrian has given as delivered on this occasion, tho he has not precisely named his author, yet scrupulous of authority as he always shows himself, will well deserve notice[80].

Alexander, he says, began the deliberation by addressing the assembly thus: 'Macedonians and 'allies! Observing that you are no longer disposed, as formerly, to accompany me in hazardous 'enterprize, I have assembled you with the purpose 'that, either persuading, I may ingage you to proceed with me, or, being persuaded by you, we 'may together return toward our homes. If either 'our joint labors hitherto, or my command under 'which they have been undertaken, are matter for 'complaint, I have no more to say. But if, through 'those labors, Ionia, and all Lesser Asia, Phenicia, Egypt, the Grecian settlements in Africa, 'part of Arabia, Cœlosyria, the Mesopotamian 'Syria, Babylon, Susa, the whole empire of the 'Persians and Medes, and more, the country 'beyond the Caspian gates and as far as the Hyrcanian sea, are ours, and the Scythians are driven 'to their deserts; if beyond this, the Indus and 'the Hydaspes, and the Akesines and the Hydraotes now flow through our empire, why should you 'hesitate to add to it the Hyphasis, and the country 'beyond the Hyphasis? Are you now afraid that 'barbarians will be able to resist us? So many 'nations as you have seen of them, some willingly submitting; some flying yet overtaken;

[80] Arrian has not precisely said that he had these speeches from Ptolemy, but he nearly indicates so much, quoting Ptolemy for attending circumstances, and mentioning him shortly after as the guide whom he chiefly followed.

SECT. VI.

'some completely abandoning their country to 'us; some becoming voluntary subjects. For 'myself I reckon that the labors of a brave man 'should be limited only by the failure of objects 'worthy of them. If it be asked what is to 'be the end of our warfare, I answer, the space is 'now small to the river Ganges and the Indian 'ocean. This evidently is connected with the 'Hyrcanian sea; for the ocean surrounds the earth. 'I desire then, Macedonians and allies, to inform 'you that the Indian ocean communicates with the 'Persian gulph on one side, as with the Hyrcanian 'sea on the other. From the Persian gulph our 'fleet will circumnavigate Africa to the gates of 'Hercules, at the western end of the Mediterranean 'sea. The interior of Africa will thus be at our 'command, and the bounds of our empire will be 'those which God has made the bounds of the 'earth.' Adding some arguments drawn from the disposition of the northern people subdued, but not yet such willing subjects as those of the south, the gratification to arise from glory, the examples of Hercules and Bacchus, the comparatively small part of Asia (according to his very deficient notion, which the reader will have observed, of its extent) remaining to be subdued, and the difference to all whom he addressed, if the conquest of the Persian empire, not having been attempted, their rewards in wealth and fame were limited to what arose from wars with the Thracians, Triballians and Illyrians, he concluded thus: 'If indeed, you undergoing 'labors and dangers, I, as commander, avoided 'them, and yours being the trouble, the reward was 'all for others, reasonably, I admit, your disposition 'to exertion might slacken. But you know that I 'have shared with you in labors and dangers, and 'you have shared with me in reward. The empire

CHAP. LIII.

'is yours; you preside over it; some in the dignity 'of satrap, all in eminence of rank and power[81]; 'and a large portion of the revenue is yours. When 'the conquest of Asia then may be completed, 'your desires, by heaven, I swear, not only shall 'be fulfilled, but exceeded. Those wishing to 'return home I will discharge, or conduct myself; 'but those who will abide with me shall be the 'envy of those who quit the service.'

Alexander ending, a long silence insued. None had that knowlege of the extent of the Asiatic continent which could inable them to controvert his widely erroneous representation of it, and show the extravagance of his views, yet none were disposed to concur with him in the purpose of at all prosecuting conquest eastward. Nevertheless none was willing to be foremost in declaring opposition. Repeatedly the king desired that any who differed from him would speak freely, yet still all were silent. At length Cœnus son of Polemocrates arose; the oldest of the generals, since Parmenio was taken off, and, as we have seen, among the highest in esteem and confidence with Alexander. He began with an apology for himself; and then adding assurance of his own and the army's attachment to their king, he proceeded to say he would declare, as he reckoned might become one of his age, and experience, and services, what, tho it should be agreeable to none, he thought most advantageous for all. 'The more then, and the 'greater,' he said, 'are the achievements the army, 'under your command, O king, has accomplished,

[81] Ὑμεῖς σατραπεύσετε αὐτῆς. This Persian-Greek phrase is not to be exactly rendered in modern language. The learned reader will judge how far faithfully I have rendered the sense.

'so much the more I reckon it becoming and ex- SECT. VI.
'pedient to put an end to its labors and dangers.
'Of the thousands of Macedonians and Greeks
'who set out in the expedition with you, the num-
'ber remaining you know. Alreddy, when we were
'in Bactria, perceiving the Thessalians less reddy
'to proceed to new labors and dangers, judiciously,
'in my opinion, you dismissed them. Of the other
'Greeks, numbers have been left in the towns you
'have founded; not very willing settlers there[82];
'and the rest, who, with the Macedonians, have
'persevered in the course of fatigue and peril,
'some have fallen in battle, some are disabled by
'wounds, some have been necessarily left behind in
'different parts of Asia; numbers have died of sick-
'ness; of the many few remain; and they, in
'body not able as formerly, in mind are still more
'broken. Advantages indeed, great and splendid,
'they have acquired; from poor, they are become
'wealthy; from obscure, the renowned of the
'earth. Hence the desire, naturally keener and
'therefore more deserving consideration, advanced
'as they are, under your lead and by your favor,
'in riches and honors, to revisit parents, wives,
'children, and native soil.' Cœnus then pro-
ceeded to observe, that the king's own family had
a right to expect him; that the people of the
Grecian republics, by whose choice he was their
presiding magistrate, had, for the troubles arisen
in their country, in his absence and in consequence

[82] Probably these were, in large proportion, exiles from various republics, and yet many, perhaps, unwilling settlers in so distant a country, surrounded by people of different language and manners; the hope of many having, through Alexander's favor and power, to be restored to their several republics, and perhaps to hold command over the party which had expelled them.

CHAP. LIII.

of it, a claim to his attention. 'When duties thus 'obvious,' he added, 'are performed, then you may 'lead a new army, at your choice, to eastern India, 'or to the countries about the Euxine sea, or to 'Carthage, and the regions of Africa beyond Car- 'thage. Young men, with fortune before them, 'will be reddy, in any number, to go with willing 'minds on any enterprize, when they see those who 'have been serving under you return to injoy, in 'their homes and with their families, their acquired 'riches and honors. It is honorable, O king, to 'be moderate in prosperity. With your present 'army, you commanding, nothing is to be feared 'from an enemy. But the ways of Divine Provi- 'dence are not to be foreseen, and therefore not 'to be provided against by human power or 'wisdo [33].'

Cœnus ending, a general murmur of approbation arose. So were minds affected by the question before them, such were the conflicting feelings of attachment to the king, their successful commander, and aversion to his purpose, that some even shed tears. Alexander, seeing the general disposition expressed so decidedly, dismissed the assembly.

But the keenness of his disappointment on the occasion was more than he could patiently bear. His conduct then will deserve observation. It was clearly not that of one habituated to despotism, or, however he might desire, at all claiming it. Next day he convened the same officers again; and, with uneasiness of mind strongly marked in his manner, declared, 'That he would himself 'proceed in his purpose.' Forbearing then to

[33] Τὰ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Δαιμονίου ἀδοκητά τε, καὶ τἄυλῃ καὶ ἀφύλακτα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐσί. Arr. l. 5. c. 27.

notice the republican Greeks, but directing his reproach to the Macedonians only, he added, 'that 'he would not command the service of any Mace- 'donian with him; not doubting but enough would 'be reddy to follow their king; and, for those who 'desired to return home, they might go, and tell 'their friends that they had deserted him among 'his enemies.' Not waiting then for reply, he went to his tent, and admitted nobody for two days. SECT. VI.

According to Ptolemy, whom Arrian here quotes (and Ptolemy, we have seen, was before among his most favored friends, and, we shall find, continued so) he hoped that some change of mind, common among soldiers in rest, would take place, of which indication would reach him. But, on the third day, perfect regularity being maintained throughout the army, and a general regret for the king's dissatisfaction clearly manifested, but no change of the general aversion to his purpose, he took the course best adapted, in yielding to the circumstances, to maintain his own dignity. He ordered a sacrifice to be performed to consult the gods about crossing the river; as if that remained his object. The symptoms were declared completely adverse. Assembling then his principal officers, he told them that, as the divine powers were favorable to his army's wishes and not to his own, he should abandon his design, and they might communicate his intention to move homeward. This being done, a universal shout of joy arose; and the soldiers crowded about the king's tent to testify their gratitude, for that he, invincible to all others, had yielded to them. Harmony being thus reëstablished, he directed twelve altars to be erected, of the height of the highest towers ordinary in for- Arr. l. 5. c. 29.

CHAP. LIII.

tifications, and of more than their usual size, as thanksgiving offerings to the gods, and monuments of the extent of his victories. Rest being given to the troops while these were completed, he then sacrificed on them with the solemnities used among the Macedonians from times beyond memory, and added, as had been his custom, the amusement of gymnic and equestrian exercises.

In arranging then the affairs of the conquered countries, he added to his former presents of dominion to his once magnanimous enemy, now apparently, of Asiatics, his most esteemed friend, Porus, placing under his protecting authority all the territory last conquered, as far as that river, the Hyphasis, which the decision of the army had made the boundary of his empire. But all his presents of dominion in India, equally as elsewhere, he reckoned still within his empire; intitled to its protection, and therefore liable to its control, and required to pay tribute toward its support. Nor thus does he seem to have imposed anything upon the conquered princes or people beyond what they were subject under the old constitution of their country; commanding only, as by right of conquest, the transfer to himself of that allegiance, which had been before due to some once powerful, but now decayed empire eastward[34].

[34] Arrian describes many of the Indian princes, previously to their submission to Alexander, by the title of ὕπαρχος, clearly thus indicating that they acknowleged some superior. Who that superior was, and where he resided, we fail of any direct information. The able commentator on Nearchus has reckoned it indicated to be within that country about the Ganges, where the Mogul sovereins of India chose their residences.

The compilers of the Antient Universal History, whose diligence, and also whose judgement (tho more that of the writers of some of the notes than of the text) I have hereto-

fore found occasion to commend, having imputed fiction to Arrian, in reporting the speeches, injuriously, I think, both to the author and to the history. 'Arrian and Curtius,' they observe, 'have both given the substance of Alexander's 'harangue; but they differ widely; and the frame of each of 'the speeches agrees exactly with the genius of the author. 'That in Arrian is grave, solid, and at the same time very 'specious; whereas that in Curtius is copious, florid, and full 'of strong rhetorical figures, which serve rather to amaze 'than to persuade. We may therefore reasonably suppose 'that Arrian and Curtius composed each his harangue.' The characters here given of the speeches, are just; but the conclusion, as far as regards Arrian, is false, I think, within proof. For the speech attributed to Alexander, by that careful historian, marks in the speaker, an utter ignorance of the geography of the countries beyond Alexander's conquests. But before Arrian's time, and indeed soon after Alexander's, as Arrian himself shows in his account of India, the defective and erroneous notions, before entertained of those countries, were largely corrected. The speech given by Arrian therefore seems clearly derived from writers of Alexander's age, uninformed, equally with himself, about those countries. Nor do I think that even Curtius has been here wholly an inventor. He had before him, apparently, the same authorities as Arrian, but he used them differently, as with different purpose. Occasionally he appears moreover to have used those which Arrian thought unworthy of notice; and, in reporting the speech in question, as on too many other occasions, he has evidently been rather aiming to move his less considerate readers by what might have momentary effect on their imagination, than careful of any authority, or at all solicitous to follow the best. His apology for his account of some wonders of nature may deserve his reader's recollection on many occasions: 'Equidem plura transcribo quam credo: 'nam nec adfirmare sustineo de quibus dubito, nec subducere 'quæ accepi.' Q. Curt. l. 9. c. 1. It may indeed be suspected that he has not always limited himself to authorities, tho the best have evidently been within his means, but that, for scenic effect, he has frequently exerted his talent, which appears to have been considerable, of invention for himself.

CHAPTER LIV.

Alexander's Return from India.

SECTION I.

Beginning Return of the Army. Care of Colonies in Northern India. Antient Law of Nations. Eulogy of Alexander. War with the Mallians: Alexander dangerously wounded.

CHAP. LIV.

The retrograde march was at length begun, with perfect good humor in the army, and Alexander more than ever its idol. The space from the Hyphasis to the Hydraotes was retraced, and from that river to the Akesines; where the construction of the town, the superintendance of which had been committed to Hephæstion, was found so advanced as alreddy to afford convenience for the residence of numbers. Offer was made for the less able men of the mercenary forces to settle there; and, on a view of the immense distance of their native homes, and of the advantages which the new settlement promised, many accepted the offer; and many of the natives of the neighborhood, on permission given, became their voluntary associates in the colony. During the halt, on the occasion, the brother of Abisares, with Arsaces, chief of a bordering province, came to wait upon Alexander, bringing presents of great amount. From Abisares, with other valuables, were thirty elephants, accompanied with an apology for his

inability on account of ill health, to pay his personal respects. Alexander, accepting the apology, appointed Abisares and Arsaces jointly his satraps over both provinces, and settled the tribute to be paid by them to the empire to which they had submitted. Here the indication concurs with what is elsewhere found, that these princes had been subordinate to some such great paramount soverein as the late Mogul; and that, in failure of due protection from that paramount soverein against other subordinate princes, and against the forein conqueror, they were prepared for submission to any forein conqueror, of power to inspire terror, and of character to afford them better hopes. Alexander then proceeded from his new town on the Akesines to his new towns of Nicæa and Bucephala on the Hydaspes. There he employed his soldiers in repairing damages, which the buildings, probably after the present manner of the country, of unbaked earth, and hastily erected, had suffered from weather, and gave his attention to whatever might be requisite toward the administration and defence of the country around.

But, in yielding to the desire of his army to return homeward, he had not ingaged that it should be by the shortest way, or the easiest. On the contrary it had been among his declared and most ernest purposes to explore the shores of the Indian ocean; and the project of conquest to an unknown extent eastward, which had so alarmed his army, being abandoned, it seems to have been understood that southward, so as at least to include within his empire all westward of the great river Indus, all should be compelled to submission; for so much we find the army was yet willing to undertake.

If then, according to the better maxims of modern times, a just occasion for Alexander to carry

CHAP. LIV.

war, even into the northern Indian provinces, is not very clearly declared by antient writers, mostly little solicitous about such matters, still less clearly is it found for his invasion of the south. Nevertheless it is to be observed, as at least probable, that the conquests of the Persian kings had, at some time, extended to the Indus, or perhaps beyond; and that all the country westward had been once held by princes acknowleging the paramount sovereinty of Persia. The claim then of right to revindicate the sovereinty, as successor by conquest to the rights of the Persian empire, would perhaps not appear any great violation of the antient law of nations, or of the notions of political justice which we have observed to prevail among antient minds.

Alexander's conquests were so extensive, so rapid, and altogether so extraordinary, that they may seem hardly to have left opportunity for writers, who may seem also to have supposed hardly desire in their readers, to view him in any other character than as a conqueror; unless, after some of the violent party authors of his own and presently following ages, to revile him as a tyrant, a drunkard, even a madman[1]; the freedom of the Greek republics affording opportunity, and the violence of party-spirit among them providing incitement for such opposite extravagances. To estimate then the merit of Alexander's administration, it may be not unavailing to look a little to that of other conquerors, and especially of the greatest of all, the Roman

[1] This latter epithet I believe however has been ventured only under the *quidlibet audendi* prerogative of poets; 'From 'Macedonia's madman to the Swede.' Two characters so different were hardly ever besides offered as parallels; but Pope had imbibed much of the French political philosophy derived from Callisthenes and others before him.

republic. Its conquests, less rapid, were however altogether so great and so splendid, and its able writers have so ingagingly portrayed the great men who led its triumphs, that it has generally satisfied following authors, as well as readers, to admire the Roman senate as directors, and the people as instruments of its extraordinary successes; little heeding the result to the rest of mankind. If kings then only were exhibited in chains to the scoffs of the Roman populace, or, like Jugurtha, starved to death, the philosophy, which has been transmitted from the school of Callisthenes through all succeeding times over modern Europe, might teach to regard it with complacency or even with pride. But the destruction of nations, Greece reduced to a desert, Sicily depopulated, and, with Italy itself, excepting the imperial city, occupied almost only by slaves, facts reluctantly and therefore defectively indicated by Roman, and fearfully by Greek historians, but incidentally shown in clear light when the predominant purpose has not been flattery either to the Roman great or the Roman people, will hardly be acknowleged as praiseworthy by any modern school of philosophy[2].

[2] Strabo has described, but with cautious pen, forbearing remark, the wretched state of Greece and Sicily, as he saw them, in the age of Augustus. In describing Italy he seems to have thought still more caution and forbearance necessary; having avoided to notice the miserable condition of that fine country, under Roman sway. Our historian of the Roman republic, Hooke, has diligently investigated and ably marked the characters of the civil contests of the Roman people, but has afforded little information of the condition of the countries subjugated by them, and of the state of their population under the rule of the imperial republic. It has remained for a writer of the present day, in a work where it would be little expected, and which, on account of the necessary expensiveness of so splendid a publication, (the third volume of publications of the Dilettanti Society) cannot have the extensive circulation

CHAP. LIV.

Nevertheless, differently as the rights of humanity, and the due to our neighbors, have been estimated in antient and in modern ages, whence the law of nations and of peace and war has so differed, among the antients, from that acknowleged by the states, in modern times, forming what has been not unaptly called the Europeän commonwealth, that it may be unfair to estimate the moral merit of any antient conqueror, or the justice of any antient war, strictly by that law. Among the great men of Rome, Julius Cæsar has been reckoned the fittest to be compared with Alexander. Certainly he was among the most liberal and nobleminded of any who, at any time, led Roman triumphs. Yet, for his invasion of Britain, may it be allowed to go so far for illustration, neither justification, nor any sufficient temptation is very obvious. To tell the Roman people that he had carried their conquering arms, in the phrase of the day, beyond the bounds of the earth, and to increase the splendor of that always cruel and truly barbarian ceremony, the triumph, by exhibiting in chains prisoners of a nation before unseen in Rome, tho unjust, might be powerful motives. But, a principal object, pressed upon him by his situation as servant of a republic, and by the circumstances of that republic, seems enough marked to have been to seize prisoners for the supply of its slavemarkets[s]. By

Cæs. bel. Gal.
Strab. l. 4.

desirable for so important a portion of history, to collect from unquestionable authorities, and show, in clear light, the reäl character of the Roman republican dominion.

[s] ——'Απήγαγεν—ἀνδράποδα καὶ τῆς ἄλλης λείας πλῆθος. Strab. l. 4. In large amount of various plunder, here indicated, slaves, it seems, as indeed from all information of the state of

SECT. I.

their sale he would find the desired, perhaps even necessary, gratification for his soldiery; and, a plentiful and unexpected supply for those markets, with of course a reduced price of what, in the circumstances of Italy, under Roman policy, was a commodity so necessary for persons of all ranks, of the greatest property and the least, would be extensively gratifying. Yet, in justice to Cæsar, it should be observed that, tho such was his conduct when servant of a republic, and dependent upon the favor of a democratical party for his eminence, yet, among his first acts, when he had overborne the opposing party, was a law to limit slavery in Italy, by commanding the employment of freemen in husbandry[4].

the country would be likely, were alone what the geographer reckoned of importance enough to be specified.

In Cæsar's own account (so I venture to call it notwithstanding the questions on the subject) the mention of prisoners, I think, has been avoided, except in describing his final departure from Britain, when, in accounting for the number of vessels wanted, and with difficulty collected, (apparently to obviate the supposition that his military force was larger than had been owned) a multitude of captives is noticed. The purpose of transporting these could hardly be any but to supply the slavemarkets. Altogether his invasions of Britain seems strongly marked for slave-hunting expeditions.

[4] —— *Neve hi, qui pecuariam facerent, minus tertia parte puberum ingenuorum inter pastores haberent.* Sueton. l. 1. c. 41. The value of this short but important passage, imperfectly seen by the learned annotator Casaubon, stands noticed, according to its just estimation, in the introduction to the third volume of publications of the Dilettanti Society. Yet that learned and diligent annotator has, in a following note, shown his sense of the value of a passage of Livy, marking, in few words, most strongly the desolation of Italy under the Roman republic, and the need for such a law as that of the great dictator: *Plerique enim de plebi in re facienda omissiores facti sunt, spreta agrorum cura, & servis vinctisque commissa: ex quo illa Livii gravis querela, libro sexto:* '*Olim multitudinem* '*innumerabilem liberorum capitum in eis fuisse locis, quæ nunc,* '*vix seminario exiguo militum relicto, servitia Romana ab solitu-*'*dine vindicant.*' Casaub. annot. in cap. 42. l. 2. Suet. de Cæs.

CHAP. LIV.

Of the slavery under the Persian empire we have hardly any information. The learned commentator on the voyage of Nearchus has supposed that, among the Indians, there was no slavery, properly so called; though he has admitted the division of the people into casts to have been then of old establishment; and, among the casts, probably would be one, then as now, hardly above slavery. But Alexander, bred under Aristotle, who, with many other Grecian philosophers, as we have formerly observed, esteemed slavery natural and necessary among mankind, would not be likely to scruple condemning Indian prisoners, for what he reckoned offences, to that miserable state. In perfect consonance thus, not only with the practice of all the Grecian republics, but of the Roman after them, oppressing a portion, what he did for extensive benefit of mankind, being peculiar to himself, will for a just estimation of his character, as well as on its own account, especially deserve consideration.

In pursuing this subject then I desire allowance to avail myself of the very able work of the yet living author[5] whom I have alreddy found occasion to quote, and, in beginning, to use his words. 'It 'is perhaps imputing too much to that extraordi- 'nary man, Alexander, to assert that he had pre- 'conceived the comprehensive scheme of commerce 'with India from the first foundation of Alexan- 'dria in Egypt; but certain it is that, as his mind 'expanded with his success, and his information 'increased in proportion to the progress of his 'arms, the whole plan was matured. Whatever

Vincent on Nearchus.

[5] This sheet was alreddy printed when the highly respectable person adverted to was yet living.

'vanity then may be attached to the foundation of 'cities, and however this passion might operate 'upon Alexander, utility still was the prevailing 'motive in his mind. It has been judiciously 'observed that most of the cities founded after 'him, by the Syrian kings, existed little longer 'than their founders; and, if we except Antioch 'on the Orontes and Seleucia on the Tigris, there 'was perhaps not one capable of existing. But 'the Paropamisan Alexandria, and that on the 'Iaxartes, continue to this day cities of importance; 'and Alexandria in Egypt, after surviving and 'greatly florishing, through the revolutions of 'empires for eighteen centuries, perished at last,' or rather its singular importance perished 'only 'in consequence of a discovery which changed the 'whole system of commerce throughout the world.'

Alexander's way from his colonies of Nicæa and Bucephala to the ocean was nearly limited to the course of the river Indus, both by the expediency of holding communication with his fleet, and by the circumstances of the country. The great vale, through which that river flows, is bounded westward by the sandy desert, or by intervening mountains. Eastward a similar character of worthless country is found, tho of less extent. The vale between, like the region of the five rivers, in which Alexander had been ingaged northward, was of extraordinary fertility; and the abundant population was famed, among neighboring nations, for skill in arms and for courage. But it was divided into many small states, often hostile to oneanother. Thus their power for offensive war was small, and opportunity for war against them abundant; yet numerous positions in their country, of extraordi-

CHAP. LIV.

nary natural strength, gave to all great means and great confidence against invasion.

It seems, as before observed, rather probable that all this country, westward of the Indus, had been, at some time, conquered by Persian armies, and had not ceased to be claimed as a portion of the Persian empire; tho, if its princes now acknowleged any superior, it appears to have been some great Indian soverein, residing far eastward. On this supposition, Alexander's pretentions to be, by conquest, the rightful successor to all the dominions of the Persian monarchs, might perhaps, according to Grecian and Roman principles, be admitted; and, against the Mallians and Oxydracs, the most powerful of the people in his way, he had moreover the ground of quarrel formerly noticed, that they were the allies and protectors of his enemy, the prince called by Arrian the bad Porus.

Ch. 53. s. 5. of this History.

It is the opinion of the commentator on the voyage of Nearchus, whose professed object has been geography, but whose observations, to which his geographical researches have led him, will rank him among the ablest historical critics, that, long before Alexander's age, a great trade was carried on from the upper provinces of India, by the Indus and the rivers communicating with it, to the ocean; little, if at all, directed thence westward; the barren shore of the Desert, for some hundred leagues, repelling; but much along the coast of Malabar, where the commodities of the rich countries in the cool climate of the north of India would be desirable, as those of the torrid regions of the peninsula would reciprocally be in request northward. He has even supposed that the vessels employed in that trade turned the southern cape, and proceed-

ed northward along the coast of Coromandel, toward the Ganges; but that the eastern shore of the great Indian Gulph, was little if at all known to the western Indians. Thus, on the information that Alexander could acquire, his supposition that India was the extreme of the Asiatic continent, and that the ocean bounding it was connected with the Caspian, which was also supposed a portion of the farthest northern sea, may seem not utterly unreasonable[6].

At his new towns on the Hydaspes Alexander had provided that, while he was ingaged on his expeditions eastward, a fleet, very numerous, tho of small vessels, should be built. Beside the labor of Arrian, l. 6. c. 2. & 3.

[6] Arrian mentions here a much greater, indeed an almost inconceivable deficiency of the geography of the age. Alexander, no doubt, would have all the geographical information that the best informed Greeks could give. Yet, crocodiles being found in the Indus, and that kind of bean which had been reckoned by the Greeks peculiar to Egypt, being observed on the banks of the Akesines, he is said to have imagined he had discovered whence the Nile had its source; supposing it to flow through immense deserts from India to Æthiopia, whence it was well enough known to pass through Egypt to the Mediterranean sea. It is added that he actually mentioned this idea in writing to Olympias, his mother; but, before the letter was despatched, getting better information, he effaced what he had written about the Nile. (Arr. l. 6. c. 1.) The historian neither quoting authority here, his common practice for extraordinary matters, nor mentioning how it became known what the effaced passage expressed, it may seem not too much to doubt the correctness of his information about it. We find Plutarch quoting numerous letters of Alexander, as authority for important matters political and military. It has not fallen in my way to find the authenticity of those letters discussed, or, I think, at all noticed, by any of the numerous commentators on Alexander's history. That they should have been unknown to Arrian, cotemporary, or nearly so, with Plutarch, seems hardly to be supposed. If then he believed them genuine, that he should have noticed, among them all, only some blotted lines concerning a question of geography would be somewhat extraordinary.

CHAP. LIV.

the conquered country, which he could command, he had, in his army, many Carians, Phenicians, Egyptians, and Cypriots, practised, some in ship-building, more in navigation, all capable, beyond meer landmen, of assisting toward the building and equipment of a fleet. Of these, the historian proceeds to say, Alexander principally formed his crews; no Greeks, either of the continent, either of Europe, or of Lesser Asia being mentioned; whence it seems probable that all were of the new levies, and that the Greeks, ingaged in the first of the expedition, had mostly been discharged, either to return home, or to settle among the various new colonies. The vessels, mostly boats, in our phrase, rather than ships, were of various kinds, adapted for different purposes: some for carrying infantry, some for cavalry, some for stores, and some for battle. Of the latter, no hostile fleet being to be apprehended, none exceeded the triacontor, or galley of thirty oars; the smallest of those commonly used among the Greeks, for action by water. Of every description the whole number was said by Ptolemy to have been two thousand.

During these preparations the veteran general Cœnus died; one as we have seen, most trusted by Alexander with great command, and, as Arrian's phrase bespeaks him, of his most confidential friends. The funeral obsequies were performed with suitable magnificence, apparently the utmost that circumstances would admit.

When all was reddy for the proposed movement southward, Alexander called together all the attending ministers of Indian princes, together with all the principal officers of his army; and, in their presence, declared Porus king of all the conquered part of India westward of the Indus. The Nys-

sæan cavalry, which seems to have been the only Indian force he had used, excepting that under Porus, he dismissed to return home. Of his remaining army, one division, under Craterus, was directed to march by the right bank of the river; another, the larger, under Hephæstion, with all the elephants, in number two hundred, was ordered, on the left side, to make the utmost speed to the capital, unnamed, of a prince called Sopeithes, Alexander himself took the immediate command of a chosen force of horse and foot to go by water; reddy thus to give attention and support to either side, and also to strengthen either from the other. A fourth body, under Philip, whom he had appointed satrap of all the country westward of the Indus, as far as the confines of Bactria, probably the same person formerly described as son of Machatas, was to remain four days, apparently to manage some business not indicated by the historian, and then follow.

SECT. I.

Arr. l. 4. c. 3.

Ch. 53. s. 4. of this Hist.

Arr. l. 5. c. 8.

At daybreak, sacrifice was performed. Then the divisions for the left bank and for the river navigation imbarked. Alexander, on reaching his galley, poured, from a golden flagon, a libation into the Hydaspes, invoking the deities of that river and of the Akesines, which it joined at some distance, and of the Indus, which receives their united waters. After this ceremony he poured to Hercules, to Ammon, and, as antient Macedonian custom prescribed (so the historian describes it) to other gods. This pious ceremony being concluded, the trumpet, at his command, gave the signal, and the fleet moved. Such a number of vessels, passing along the river in regular order, with signals of trumpets and words of command, heard on the shores, and occasionally reverberated by rocks and

CHAP. LIV.

woods on the banks, the effect was greatly striking even to the Greeks; but still more to the multitude of Indians, led by curiosity from the populous neighborhood on each side of the river, to whom everything seen and heard was new, and whose wonder, the historian says, was particularly excited by the sight of horses conveyed by water. Singularly, given to singing, he adds, their songs, on this occasion, heightened the extraordinary chorus.

Arrian, l. 4. c. 4.

On the third day of the voyage the fleet arrived where Craterus, on one side of the river, and Hephæstion on the other, according to orders, met it. Alexander directed them to proceed immediately, and still by the river's course. With the fleet he waited himself two days, while Philip, with his division, joined. This body, probably with a view to the more easily finding provisions for all, he ordered across the country to the Akesines, with instruction to follow the course of that stream to its junction with the Hydaspes, on which he himself pursued his voyage, in a width of water, according to the historian, nowhere less than twenty Greek stades, which, on no computation would be so little as a mile[7]. In five days he reached the confluence of the two rivers. There a contraction of the channel, through which the combined waters were of necessity to flow, produced what our seamen call a race, and of very dangerous violence. Of this both Alexander and the army had previous intelligence from the country people; but, for the fleet to proceed, the passing must be hazarded. On approaching the strait, the roaring of the waters was such that the rowers, appalled, as if by consent, c. 5. without command, rested on their oars. Orders

[7] Οὐδαμοῦ μείονα, ἐν τῷ κατάπλῳ εἴκοσι σταδίων τὸ εὖρος. Arrian, l. vi. 4.

were issued to proceed with the greatest and most unremitted exertion; assurance being added, that so the force of the whirlpools might be overborne or evaded. The round vessels (as the Greeks called vessels of burden, nearly such as the modern for ocean navigation) tho the irregular violence of the current alarmed those aboard, all passed safely. But the long vessels, with low sides, adapted to swift rowing, and especially those of two benches[8], the rowers of the lower bench, whose rowloops were little above the level of the water when smooth, being unable to disengage their oars from the rising billows, were greatly distressed. Two of these, falling against each other, were lost, and many of the men they bore perished. Fortunately it happened that, presently below the rapid, on the right bank of the river, was a shore advantageous for receiving and refitting the damaged fleet. Alexander, attentive to the danger and suffering of his people, having himself passed safely, landed there, and diligently superintended assistance to the injured vessels and those they carried. At this place Hephæstion, Craterus and Philip, with their several divisions, joined. SECT. I.

Hitherto, the people, on either shore, had mostly been submissive, and the few refractory were, with little effort, compelled to obedience. But more powerful states were next in the way, those of the Mallians and Oxydracs; people, according to Arrian, living under republican government, and eminent, among the Indians, as military people[9]. Assurance being received that these, in alliance,

[8] Ὅσαι δίκροτοι ἀνῶν. Arr. vi. c. 5.

[9] Memorials of these people, whose names the Greeks wrote Μαλλοὶ and Ὀξύδρακοι, Vincent has observed, remain in the modern names of their countries, *Mooltan* and *Ooche*.

CHAP. LIV.

were determined upon resistance, it was judged expedient to increase the force on the right bank of the river, where their territory lay. Philip's division, and Polysperchon's, and all the horse-bowmen, and all the elephants, such was Alexander's opinion of the power of that animal in battle, were conveyed across the river, and put under the command of Craterus. Of the rest of the army, one division, under Hephæstion, was sent forward a five day's march: another, under Ptolemy, the historian, was ordered to remain three days behind. The immediate command of a chosen body of foot and horse Alexander took himself, to go upon the most active service. The fleet he directed to proceed the space of a three day's march down the river.

Arrian, l. 4. c. 6.

An object is not indicated by historians to require these measures, which yet possibly may have been ably adapted to circumstances; and Arrian, from whom most is always to be expected, tho he rarely goes beyond his purpose of a military history, has stated, as cause for war with the Mallians, only that they declined acknowleging Alexander's imperial authority on terms he offered them; whether claiming their allegiance as once subjects of the Persian empire, or only considering them, like all other people, out of compact, and so, according to the ordinary Grecian principle, fair objects of conquest. Simply as an addition to his vast dominion, their country could be but a small object. But all the Indian tribes, like them of warlike reputation, were predatory people. Whether the Mallians might have means to interrupt the trade on the Indian rivers, supposed eminent among Alexander's objects of protection and incouragement, we hardly have ground to

Vinc. on Nearchus.

judge; but that security for the peaceful cultivators of the soil in the provinces would be precarious in the neighborhood of a people of that character, holding complete independency, cannot be doubtful. SECT. I.

But if just cause for ingaging in the war may be supposed, neither the following severity against the enemy, nor the prince's rashness in the exposure of his own person to dangers even for him beyond the common, appear at all within excuse. It may seem that, in smothered ill humor with his army, of which he knew himself, notwithstanding the recent opposition to his fancy, highly the favorite, and whose favor it greatly behoved him to cultivate, venting his spleen on the foe, he would waste the exertion upon small, for which great enterprize was denied him.

A sandy waterless desert divided the rich country of the Mallians from the Akesines. Marching in the morning, from his camp on the bank of that river, at the distance of about nine miles he reached a smaller river, where he gave his troops midday rest. Proceeding then in the afternoon and throughout the night, and himself hastening with his cavalry before his infantry, in the morning he approached a principal town of the Mallians.

That people, refusing tribute to the mighty conqueror of the continent from the Hellespont and the African desert to the Indus, confident in the security of their situation, were found unprepared to expect an enemy. Many about the fields, unarmed, fled toward the town for safety: those overtaken were put to the sword. The horse then were stationed around the town to prevent egress. The foot arriving, assault began; and the Indians, after some vain efforts at defence, withdrew to their

CHAP. LIV.

citadel. This was then attacked, and being carried, those within, about two thousand, were all put to death. No reason is mentioned by the historian for such severity; nor for what insued. Perdiccas had been sent against an inferior town. At his approach the inhabitants fled. He pursued; and his light troops, practised in running, overtook many, whom they put to death. Neighboring marshes afforded refuge for those who could reach them.

Arr. l. 4. c. 7.

Alexander, resting only till the first watch of the night, proceeded, by a forced march, to the river Hydraotes, where, at daybreak, he overtook the flying and scattered Mallians. Most had crossed the river, but many were killed by his cavalry in the water, and many more in the continuation of pursuit. Some were made prisoners; of course for profit of the troops by sale to slavery. The greater part however were enough advanced to reach a town strongly situated and walled. Against these Python son of Agenor[10] was detached, who presently took the town by storm. The lives of the survivors here were spared.

Meanwhile, Alexander himself went against the town of the Bramins[11]: thus only the historian describes it. The Bramins were then, as now, the wisemen or philosophers of the Indians[12]. They seem to have incouraged the people in opposition to Alexander, as afterward the Druids, who were of nearly similar rank and character among the antient Britons, incouraged them in opposition to the Romans. But the Grecian art of sapping, used

[10] Πίθωνα τὸν Ἀγήνορος. c. 17.
[11] Βραχμάνων.
[12] Σοφισὰι. c. 16.

against their walls, quickly produced effect, which so alarmed them, that, without attempting to defend the breach, they withdrew into their citadel; yet in such deficient order, that some of Alexander's troops, following, entered also. These however were presently overpowered and driven out with loss. Twenty-five were acknowleged to have been killed. Alexander then ordered the sappers to the wall, and the scaling-ladders to be reddy on all sides. A tower being reduced to ruin, and part of the adjoining curtain falling with it, Alexander himself led the forlorn hope. Zeal thence becoming vehement among the troops, the place was quickly carried. Most of the Indians died fighting. The less able set fire to the houses, where whole families perished: a few only, such, observes the historian, was their fortitude, were saved for slavery. SECT. I.

It seems to have been this passive courage, characteristical still of the Indians that provoked the youthful conqueror. They could not resist him, yet would not yield. Nor was this stimulation single in his mind. Angry yet, tho no longer avowing anger, with his army for refusal to follow him against the powerful kingdoms of eastern India, this new incentive came upon him from those whom, in contempt, he would have left behind him, could he have prosecuted the greater object of his desire. Allowing his troops therefore only one day's rest, he detached Python and Demetrius, with a force suited to the purpose, back to the thickets on the bank of the Hydraotes, whither many Mallian families had fled, in hope of security which they found their towns could not afford them. His orders were sanguinary. Any Mallians who came to surrender at discretion might be spared, but all others found were to be put to the sword. Arr. l. 6. c. 8.

CHAP. LIV.

Meanwhile he proceeded himself against the principal town of the Mallian country. But the Indians had alreddy so experienced the weakness of their fortifications against the Grecian art of attack, that, before he could arrive, the town was deserted. The people, with those of many inferior towns, having crossed the Hydaspes, occupied the farther of its lofty banks, in number, it was said, fifty thousand armed men, with the purpose of disputing the passage. Alexander, after a rapid survey, rode into the river at the head of his cavalry. He had hardly reached the middle of the channel when the resolution of the Indians failed them, and, with hasty steps, but in good order, they withdrew from the bank. He followed. But they then, seeing his infantry yet afar off, stood, and so resisted his charges that he found it expedient to wait for his infantry. The Agrian and other select light-armed arrived first, with the bowmen[13]. These, together with the cavalry, began a desultory action, which they maintained till the phalanx approached; and then the Indians, of whom many were alreddy wounded, presently fled. At no great distance a town strongly situated was their refuge, but the pursuing horse killed many.

Next day, committing one division of his army to Perdiccas, leading the other himself, Alexander assailed the town in two places. His own division, forcing a gate, entered first. Apparently the fortification was very imperfect. The Indians, no longer

[13] Arrian here distinguishes the Ψιλοὶ and the τοξόται. I think Xenophon and Thucydides always reckoned the bowmen among the Ψιλοὶ, tho a distinguished and superior branch of them. Arrian's Ψιλοὶ seem to have been the Πελτασταὶ, middle-armed, of the elder writers; and indeed probably Alexander would not take with him to the farther end of Asia any of what Thucydides has called ὄχλος τῶν Ψιλῶν.

SECT. I.

attempting defence of the town, withdrew into the citadel, stronger by art as well as by local circumstances. Immediately he proceeded to storm it. At the same time sapping was begun, and scaling-ladders were applied. But the efforts of his men not satisfying his impatience, he took a ladder from one bearing it, placed it against the wall, and mounted, under protection only of his shield carried over his head. Peucestas, the bearer of the sacred shield, taken, as formerly mentioned, from the temple of Minerva at Troy, immediately followed; Leonnatus, a lord of the body-guard, was third: Abreas, apparently a common soldier, but of those who, for merit, received double pay, mounted nearly at the same time by another ladder. The hypaspists[14], (who seem to have attended Alexander's person in every action in which infantry could join) zealous to follow, overloaded the ladders and they broke. Alexander thus, with three others only, was on the top of the wall, and, for the splendor of his armor, the principal object for the enemy's missile weapons. Within the wall the soil was raised, so that he might leap down without other danger than exposing himself still more to the enemy. In advancing the hazard thus was of one kind, in retreating perhaps equal of another. In advancing there might be glory, in retreating shame. With a moment's consideration, he leaped down into the citadel, and, for defence, stood with his

Ch. 46. s. 2. of this History.

14 Ὑπασπιστής. Failure of desirable explanation concerning the body distinguished by this title, has been formerly observed. Taylor's edition of Hederic's Lexicon gives for version, *Clypeatus satelles*, quoting the Glossaria Veterum, and agreeing with Scapula, who may probably have drawn from the same source. But this, leaving the distinguishing ὑπο unnoticed, as a version is clearly defective, and as explanation nothing.

CHAP. LIV.

back against the wall. The Indians, seeing him alone, closed upon him. The excellence of his armor, with his skill in arms, protected him, while he killed an Indian chief, and wounded several. The three who had mounted the wall with him presently joining him, the Indians no longer dared to close, but plied them with missile weapons. Abreas, wounded in the face with an arrow, fell. Alexander himself received a shot, which pierced his breastplate, and the effusion of blood following was such that he presently fainted. Peucestas and Leonnatus remained to maintain the unequal contest.

But the troops, whose eagerness to prevent, had inhanced their prince's danger, so indiscreetly incurred[15], soon found means for relieving it. The wall was only of earth, or unbaked clay, and, even without ladders, some of the soldiers found means to mount. A gate at hand was so infirm, or so ill guarded, that it was presently forced. Attack, from powerful numbers, insuing, was, at first, withstood by the Indians vigorously; but they could not long maintain close fight against the superiority of Grecian arms and discipline. Before however the relief arrived, all Alexander's supporters were wounded, and nearly disabled. He was himself borne away, uncertain whether to survive. There was then no restraining his victorious soldiery. Every man, woman and child found in the place was put to the sword; his own latter conduct having indeed, on some occasions, afforded too much incouragement for such illiberal revenge.

Such an adventure as this, of the conqueror of Asia, would be likely to be variously dressed by

[15] Βασιλεὺς πάθη, οὐ ξὺν νόῳ κινδυνεύων. Arr. l. 4. c. 10.

the numerous writers of his age, and ages following, candidates for public favor; and Arrian mentions, among other instances, one remarkably showing excess of carelessness, if not rather impudence, of some among them, while, in the scarcity and dearness of copies, examination and comparison of accounts could be within the power of very few. Some authors, he says, reported that Ptolemy, the historian, was one who mounted the ladder with Alexander, and protected him when disabled; 'whereas,' he proceeds, 'Ptolemy in his own narrative, relates that he was not then present with 'the army under Alexander's immediate orders, 'but commanding a detached body on a distant 'service.' Ptolemy however would have full means to learn all circumstances, so as to give an exact account; and this Arrian appears to have carefully followed. SECT. I.

Alexander's danger put the army, through all ranks, upon serious and anxious consideration. What might be the consequences of his death, for which no provision had been made, and who should succeed to the command-in-chief, were questions most seriously involving the interests of all, and for which none had a reddy answer. Since Parmenio no one had been so distinguished by the king as to be at all marked for such preëminence; and the troops were rather, in their several divisions, attached to their several leaders, than generally disposed to allow to any one the command over all. What then would result among the conquered nations? Their chiefs had been not only subdued by the arms, but gained by the favors of Alexander; whose name also the people revered, as of the most glorious of sovereins, under whose rule they injoyed all their former advantages, with Arrian, l. 6. c. 12.

CHAP. LIV.

less apprehension, than before, of a troubled government. Who would be for settling in the empire gained, and fighting still, if necessary, for its maintenance; and who for the return home, the extensive ernestness for which had recently so grieved their lost leader? And for either settling in the conquered provinces, or for a length of march, before so unheard of, as the return, through so many provinces, which to be friendly, which hostile, none could know, who was to decide, and what were their means?

The news, reaching the army remaining, under Hephæstion's command, in the camp whence Alexander had set out for his expedition against the Mallians, produced even greater and more lasting anxiety than where he was present. The first report was that he was dead. Contradiction soon arrived, but did not obtain immediate credit; suspicion arising that it was an artifice of interested leaders, desirous of gaining time for their purposes. Even when at length Alexander, unable to come, wrote himself for assurance, apprehension that this might be a forgery still gave uneasiness.

Informed of all circumstances, as soon as he could bear the motion of a litter, Alexander proceeded to the Hydaspes. On that stream a vessel bore him without fatigue to the station where his fleet, under Nearchus, lay, with the main body of his army, under Hephæstion, incamped hard by. The litter was ready for him again at the landing-place; but, feeling himself beyond expectation able, he ordered his horse; and, mounting, to the joyful surprize of the surrounding anxious soldiery, tho apparently not without hazard, and perhaps injury, rode to his tent, and, without assistance, dismounted. Universal acclamation, gratulation,

and, the historian says, tears of joy attended him. So does personal valor commonly ingage the esteem of the multitude, especially of valor in high station, and more especially where exerted of free choice, without any pressure from necessity. But still more, with the added opinion of talent capable of directing multitudes, so as both to lead them to glory, and provide for their welfare, better than they could do for themselves, or any other for them, an enthusiastical attachment arises; and such, Arrian describes as prevailing toward Alexander. Among his more judicious friends however, universally dissatisfied with his rashness, some took the liberty to admonish him, that the merit of the lowest soldier should not be the object of the general's ambition; and that one whose life was so important to so many thousands, and even millions, should not so waste his safety. Alexander bore this, but with some demonstration of impatience; which an old Bœotian officer, more a soldier than a general, observing, exclaimed, in his Bœotian dialect, 'O Alexander, such deeds become men: 'the proverb says, 'Bear the evils which great 'actions bring, and injoy the glory.' This is among the few anecdotes of the more private life of Alexander, authentically transmitted: Arrian having given it from the narrative of Nearchus, the commander of the fleet; who added, that the old Bœotian was thenceforward in much favor with the king. SECT. 1.

The army in the Mallian country appears to have remained to complete its subjugation, and then proceed against the Oxydracs; represented as a powerful nation, whose purposed junction of forces with the Mallians had been disappointed by Alexander's rapidity. Terrified now by expe- Arr. l. 6. c. 14.

CHAP. LIV.

rience, both of the force and of the severity of the conqueror come from afar, both people sent deputations, offering submission and soliciting pardon; the Mallians for their resistance, the Oxydracs for having failed of an earlier submission. The latter seem, on information received, to have devised a mode of flattery grateful to Alexander: 'They 'were desirous,' they said, 'of freedom and inde-'pendency; to which, if any people, they were 'intitled, having injoyed them from the time when 'Bacchus came to India: but, understanding that 'Alexander also was of the race of the gods, if it 'was his pleasure to appoint a satrap over them, 'they would submit and pay such tribute as he 'might require.' The terms, on their compliance with which he insisted, were not mild. He would have a thousand of the principal men of the two nations sent to him, to be held as hostages; or at his pleasure, to be employed as soldiers in his proposed subjugation of the rest of India. Again they seem to have had politic consideration of his character. They sent him a thousand men, selected for size and comeliness of person, with assurance also, true or otherwise, of their eminence of rank; and, with them, five hundred armed chariots, with the necessary horses and drivers, as a voluntary tribute of auxiliary force. Pleased with this, he accepted the chariots with their appendages, and dismissed the hostages; but appointed a satrap over the country, Philip, apparently the same formerly distinguished as son of Machatas, and alreddy of satrapal dignity.

SECTION II.

Alexander's Navigation of the Indian Rivers: Conquest of Southern Provinces: Division of the Army for the Return homeward: Establishment of a Naval Station in the Indus: Arrival at the Ocean: Establishment of a Naval Arsenal at the Western Mouth of the Indus.

SECT. II.

ALEXANDER, checked by the reasonable opposition of his army in his wild purpose of extending conquest (wild certainly, yet in his very extraordinary circumstances at his yet early age, demanding consideration) and apparently somewhat sobered by the severity of his last wound and the length of confinement required for the cure, again directed his uncommon powers of mind and body and fortune to projects useful to mankind. His purpose, formerly conceived, of exploring the course of the Indus, and making known to the western nations the navigation of the ocean, from the Indian to the Persian gulph, employed his attention. During his confinement he had caused a considerable increase to be made to his river-navy; principally of the larger vessels; and, as soon as his convalescence was sufficiently advanced, he prosecuted the voyage down the Hydraotes to its confluence with the Akesines, and thence onward to that of their united streams with the Indus. There he waited the arrival of Perdiccas, who had been sent with a division against a refractory Indian nation. In this leisure examining the opportunities of the place, and finding them inviting, he resolved to found a town there, and provide it with conveniencies for a naval station. During his stay Perdiccas, successful in the business he had been sent upon, rejoined. Oxyartes, father of the queen Roxana, also arrived, reporting some misconduct of Tiristes, Tiryestes, or Tyriaspis (for the Greeks varied in their

Arr. l. 6. c. 15.

CHAP. LIV.

orthography of Persian names) satrap of Parapamisus; who was in consequence removed, and the satrapy was committed to Oxyartes. Philip's satrapy was then declared to extend to the confluence of the Akesines and Indus, including the new town and arsenal, the completion of which he was directed to superintend. A body of troops, including all the Thracians of the army, was left with him, to insure quiet in his province.

For proceeding still downward, the ground on the left bank of the river being incommodious, and hostility being more threatened on the right[15], the greater part of the division under Craterus was transported across, with all the elephants, there to continue the march toward the sea; Alexander himself, with a chosen body, being again borne on the stream. Reaching the capital of the Sogdians[16], apparently without resistance, he formed there again a subsidiary naval arsenal, and provided for its security by fortifications. Alreddy, tho much remained yet to be subdued, he took upon himself to dispose of all the riverside country, some hundred miles from the confluence of the Akesines and Indus to the sea, declaring it a satrapy under the joint authority of Oxyartes and Python.

Directing the march of Craterus then by the right bank of the river, through the country which the historian describes as that of the Arachotes and Drangies[17], he proceeded himself still by

[15] Αριστερᾶ. For the interpretation here, note 17 is proposed to account.

[16] Possibly these may have been a branch of the nation formerly noticed, of the same name, near the Caspian sea, or possibly the name here may have been corrupted in transcription.

[17] By this description it seems made sufficiently evident that Arrian, for distinguishing the banks of a river as right

water to the territory, said to be the richest of India, the dominion of a prince called Musicanus. That prince had not waited upon him, to offer submission for himself and his country, nor had even by an embassy sought friendship, nor had either sent those presents which common civility required for a great king, or solicited anything for himself. These are the causes stated by Arrian for treating him as an enemy. Such then was the rapidity of Alexander's movements, that before Musicanus obtained notice of the armament's approach, it was alreddy within his territory. Apparently however he had information of Alexander's character, as well as of his power. With the most magnificent presents he could collect he hastened to meet him, and especially with all his elephants. Being admitted to audience, he began with acknowleging himself wrong[18]; which, says the historian, commonly weighed most with Alexander toward obtaining favor. Accordingly his delinquency was pardoned; and Alexander, having viewed his capital and his country, admiring both, continued him in the presidency, but not in independency: the capital being in a commanding situation, he built a citadel, and placed a garrison there.

and left, traced the water upward, whereas, in modern Europe, it seems now agreed to name them as they stand, in tracing it from its source downward. The country of the Arachotes and Drangies, stretching westward on the north of the great Desert, was of great importance to Alexander, being that alone by which, from his actual situation, there was any reddy communication with Media, Persia and all the west of his empire. But whether Arrian was clearly aware of the geography here, or whether rather some deficiency may not be in the extant manuscripts of his work, perhaps not unreasonably may be doubted.

18 Arrian's expression is strong, Ὁμολογῶν ἀδικεῖν.

CHAP. LIV.

Musicanus, however, the soverein over subjects, like many now in India, was not an independent prince, and therefore apparently had it not properly in his choice to submit to another. But Alexander's claim of paramount sovereinty extended to the dominion of Oxycanus to whom Musicanus acknowleged feälty; and Oxycanus, like his subordinate, had omitted the required acknowlegements. Alexander therefore hastened to proceed against him, leaving the superintendency of the building of the new citadel, with the command of the forces there, to Craterus. So it appears he had now learnt to contemn the boasted Indian military, that, without any infantry of the phalanx, he took, for the expedition against Oxycanus, only the cavalry which had been conveyed on the river, with his favorite middle-armed, the Agrians, and his bowmen. Nevertheless in the field he seems to have found no resistance; and presently with a force so unfit for sieges, he took the two principal towns, in the second of which Oxycanus himself was made prisoner[19].

Arr. l. 6. c. 16.

[19] It has been observed by Vincent that the name Porus signified Prince. The termination Canus, may seem to have been, in another language, a word signifying the same title, to which the Greeks prefixed the proper name, and added, in their usual way, a final syllable to denote the case. This title is found variously spelt, Can, Khan, Chan, Cham, even by English writers, who, too commonly, bowing to any forein orthography of Asiatic names which forein writers may reasonably have endevored to adapt to their several languages, misrepresent them, often grossly, for an English reader. By the more judicious, the same title has been written Cawn or Khawn; which I apprehend, according to English orthography, best represents the word; tho, to indicate exactly all Asiatic sounds by any Europeän alphabet is impossible. Vincent, distressed by confusion and uncertainty often thus arising, has taken pains to collate various spellings of eastern names, with the purpose of ascertaining what should be the English orthography; but, in the evident want of familiar

Meanwhile information arrived that Sambus, an Indian satrap, under Alexander's appointment, of a neighboring mountainous region, had absconded. Alexander on this hastened to Sindomana, the principal town; Arrian here giving the name, which often fails in his narrative, for cities in India, even the residence of princes. He was surprized to find the gates open, the principal friends of Sambus reddy for surrender, the treasury untouched, and not an elephant removed. Those left in authority pleaded, in excuse for their chief, that he had no purpose of hostility, or of any disobedience to Alexander; but, being informed that his enemy, Musicanus, had been received into favor, he feared the consequences to himself, and on that account only had withdrawn. Alexander seems to have been satisfied with this apology for Sambus, but some bramins, accused as instigators of revolt, were put to death.

acquaintance with the pronuntiation of any language but his own, he has succeeded little farther than to furnish some ground for any who may follow him better prepared. On the other hand, modern fashion has tended variously to increase this inconvenient confusion. French modes, puzzling for the English reader, have been adopted for forein words, even for some which had become classical in our language, as the Turkish title Bashâw. This spelling, which Johnson has followed, represents regularly, in our orthography, the sound indicated by the Italian Bascià; and both concur exactly with the French Pacha, except for the first letter. Gibbon's diligent curiosity leading him to inquiry, he learnt that, in one extensive portion of the Turkish empire the people failed, as the Welsh with us, of the faculty of pronouncing the B, and in another part that of pronouncing P; whence has arisen the difference, in regard to that first letter, which alone directs to a difference in pronuntiation, between the French and us, with whom the Italians concur. Gibbon, so far concurring with the French, has chosen for himself the peculiar orthography, Pashaw, which possibly may be, as he has supposed it, the most warranted by the best Turkish custom. But it may probably have occurred to many to have observed some English speakers, and not uneducated, misled by the

CHAP. LIV.

Musicanus however, urged by the bramins, probably misestimating the value of Grecian arms and discipline, and incouraged by a view of the smallness of the numbers actually attending Alexander, had revolted. Python, sent in command against him, soon took all his towns: some were destroyed, and the surviving inhabitants condemned to slavery; in some citadels were built and garrisons placed. Musicanus himself, brought prisoner, was by Alexander's order sent back to his own country, to be there hanged, together with some bramins, his advisers.

The terror of Alexander's arms now extended to the ocean; the intervening country being indeed

modern fashion of French orthography, strangely to pervert the proper sound, pronouncing as if the word were written Páka. Thus also the fashionable French orthography of the name of an Arabian people, Bedouin, variously puzzles English readers; who have no difficulty when they find it written by Shaw, and other English travellers, Bedoween; thus properly representing the Arabic letters, and indicating the Arabic pronuntiation, as far as English letters may. Legislation in orthography, and also in phraseology, rests now principally with the daily newsprinters, as those with whose works the public eye is far most continually and extensively familiar. And considering the rapidity to which they are unremittingly urged, as in a race, their general correctness ought perhaps more to excite admiration than any occasional failure of it should induce blame. A large proportion of their materials coming to them in French, it is not wonderful if, in their necessary constant haste, they frequently relieve themselves by adopting French words, French idioms, and all the torture to which the French, scrupulous of nothing which may make everything French, put forein names: while modesty, overstrained with us (what the French call mauvaise honte,) produces scruple of whatever may make anything English. Thus an injurious change is rapidly working in our language, to which even the government gazette, not excusable as the daily newspapers, has sometimes contributed; lending its authority for the intrusion of words and phrases out of all analogy with the English language, and needless for any purpose, unless to amuse those who are aware how English voices far mostly mispronounce them.

too much divided among small sovereinties, often hostile to oneanother, for any to have reasonable hope of successful resistance to such a force as he could command. A deputation waited upon him from the soverein of the insular territory, inclosed between the two principal channels by which the waters of the Indus reach the sea. Bringing the assurance of submission, which Alexander required from all within his reach who desired to live in peace, the deputies carried back with them his promise of protection for their prince in his present power and dignity; but, with it, a requisition that, at the town of Pattala, the capital of his dominion, situated at the point of separation of the two great channels of the Indus, all convenience should be provided for his fleet and army against their arrival. SECT. II.

It seems, from Arrian's omission, nearly evident that the historian-generals, Ptolemy and Aristobulus, beyond whose authority he shows himself generally unwilling to pledge himself, declined to report even those accessions of strength to the army, which continued to be received occasionally from Europe, and still more would be disposed to avoid acknowlegement of the greater numbers of Asiatics, whom they styled barbarians, now forming a very important part of that, nevertheless, for its general title, called the Macedonian army. But what is not found in his history of the expedition remains stated in his account of India, that, when Alexander imbarked on the Hydaspes, his army, in that country, was of a hundred and twenty thousand men, exclusively of those auxiliary troops of the Indian princes and states which he afterward dismissed. Between India and the center of the empire were yet objects for military measures, but

Arr. Ind. c. 19.

CHAP. LIV.

not requiring such numbers, nor in countries capable of maintaining them. To divide the army therefore being necessary, a large body was committed to Craterus, consisting of three divisions of the phalanx, commanded by Attalus, Meleager and Antigonus, with some bowmen, and all those Macedonians, among whom were some of the band of companions, who for age, wounds, or state of health, were less able for severe service. Craterus was directed to march for Persia proper; not by the shortest, but the easiest and safest road; first returning up the course of the Indus by its right bank, and then proceeding through Arachosia, a fruitful country alreddy explored, and where nothing hostile was apprehended. At the same time Python was sent back northward on the left bank, with the Agrians and horsebowmen, to inspect the state of the colonies established, and inquire concerning the conquered countries on that side of the river; with orders, after having made all necessary arrangements, to return and follow the motions of the largest of the bodies retained for service southward, which was to proceed, under the command of Hephæstion, on the right bank, to Pattala. Alexander himself imbarked for that place, with a chosen division.

Having proceeded on the water two days without any remarkable occurrence, information met him, on the third, that the chief of Pattala[20] had deserted his country, leading the greater part of the

[20] On the first mention of this chief, Arrian calls him Ὁ τῶν Παττάλων τῆς χώρας ἄρχων· Here he calls him τῶν Παττάλων ὕπαρχος. Under whom he was ἄρχων is not said; nor is this the first occasion on which Arrian gives the title of ὕπαρχος without mention of a superior. This, and indeed the whole of his narrative, marks his uncertainty about the political state of India.

SECT. II.

inhabitants with him. Accordingly, on arriving, he found the town and neighboring country deserted. Severity, overstrained, he seems now to have learnt, would defeat its own purpose. Sending in pursuit of the fugitives, therefore, he gave orders not to kill, but to bring prisoners; and these he sent back again after their still flying fellowcountrymen, to assure them that all might return, and securely occupy their houses and till their lands, as before. This had, in considerable amount, the desired effect. Pattala then was presently observed to be a place of critical importance for its command of the two branches of the river, and of a country abounding with valuable produce; fruitful of cattle, especially of camels, and, for grain, of the best rice. Works were therefore put forward for making it a naval station, and securing that station by a citadel. Observing farther that much of the neighboring country was uninhabited only from want of fresh water, tho springs might be found in digging to a moderate depth, he employed parties of his troops in that service. Altogether this southern part of India appears to have been less civilized, and less well governed, than the northern, which had been alreddy subdued. The inhabitants of the neighborhood of Pattala, through ignorance, jealous of the beneficent works going forward, killed some of those employed, but were soon repressed by a force sent against them.

Arrian, l. 6. c. 18. Vin. on Nearchus.

The question arose now by which of the branches of the great river, which here divided, the fleet should proceed to the ocean. Alexander resolved himself to examine both, and to begin by the western. For escort on the water he took a select squadron of the vessels which had been found the

CHAP. LIV.

swiftest, and he put eight thousand foot and one thousand horse under the command of Leonnatus, to attend his motions, marching on the left bank. The season was adverse, being that of the stormy monsoon, blowing from the ocean; and pilots failed; those Pattalians most practised in navigation, perhaps informed of previous severities, and therefore less confiding in promises of protection, not being found among those who had returned to their homes. Nevertheless Alexander, not probably without information of what might be expected, yet not believing it in its full extent, and of a temper indisposed to yield to any conquerable obstacles, persevered in his purpose. The first day of the voyage passed smoothly. But, on the second, a violent adverse wind not only prevented progress, but, meeting the stream which favored the fleet's course, produced so troubled a surface that the vessels labored greatly: some were so injured by collision as to be rendered useless; but the crews all reached the shore. Parties then pursuing still the fugitive natives, some prisoners skilled in the river navigation were taken, and, being well treated, were found highly useful. In the farther progress of the fleet the water widened to the extent of some miles, and here another storm came on; but, the Indians showing a bay near, capable of affording shelter, damage was avoided.

Alreddy here the river was affected by the singular tides of the neighboring ocean. To the astonishment of the Greeks, accustomed only to the Mediterranean and Euxine seas, the ebb left all the vessels aground; and, then again to their surprize, the following flood set them afloat[21]. Information

[21] Very early, in the course of this work, occasion occurred to animadvert upon the too common practice of critics, inge-

was obtained that, near the river's mouth was an iland called Killuta, affording advantageous harbors. Two light vessels were dispatched to ascertain the circumstances. On their return, their commander's report incouraging, the squadron proceeded thither: and Alexander himself, eager to explore the great expanse before him, went on, with some chosen vessels, some leagues, till he came in sight of another iland. But he had neither vessels fit to proceed far on the ocean, nor means to be sure of his course beyond sight of land. Returning therefore to Killuta he there sacrificed to the gods, to

nious as well as learned, but, who speculating much, have seen little, to assume judgement on matters of which their information has been very deficient. The annotator on Nearchus has also found occasion for such animadversion. 'The 'surprize of the Macedonians, and their ignorance of the 'tides,' he observes, 'have been ridiculed by Voltaire, who 'thinks it incredible that Alexander should not know the 'nature of tides; as he must have seen the Euripus when 'in Bœotia, and must have known that Aristotle wrote on 'the subject. Major Rennell has corrected this petulance, 'by showing that the tide in the Indus is the Bore, which 'operates along the whole coast,—runs in the Hoogly river 'seventy miles in four hours, rises, at Calcutta, five feet in 'an instant, in the Megna twelve feet.' Vin. on Nearch. b. 2. p. 171. The learned commentator might have added, what Voltaire, with modest inquiry, might reddily have learnt, that the tides on the coast of his own country, as of England also, especially on the western coasts, are so much greater than those of the Euripus, that these would hardly furnish a conception of what was to be expected. Lord Lyttelton, in his history of Henry the Second, has wasted labor to refute Voltaire's at least equal petulance, in contradicting the report of historians, that the first William made Newforest. 'Les historiens,' he says in his essay on general history, 'ne 'font pas attention qu'il faut au moins vingt années pour 'qu'un nouveau plan d'arbres deviennent une foret propre a 'la chasse. On lui fait *semer* cette foret en 1080: il avoit 'alors soixante-trois ans. Quelle apparence,' &c.—Those who know the country and its history will see it every way probable that, when William subjected his new forest to the same forest laws and government, or nearly the same, which he found alreddy established for many forests in his acquired

CHAP. LIV.

whom the oracle of Ammon, he said, had directed him to address such worship. On the following day however he ventured to proceed as far as the iland last discovered, and there sacrificed to other gods with other ceremonies; still asserting that all was done in conformity to instructions from the oracle of Ammon. Directing his course then eastward beyond the mouth of the Indus, and finding no land southward, he celebrated a magnificent sacrifice ashipboard to the god Neptune. The carcasses of bulls, slain with due ceremony, were thrown into the sea. Golden cups being then filled with wine, from a golden flagon, he himself, after pouring libations upon the waves, threw in both cups and flagon.

An object worthy of this hazardous expedition in a distant corner, so separated from the body of the

kingdom, it was alreddy prepared by nature to be a forest, differing little, if anything, in general character, from that it bears at this day. In large tracts oak is the weed of the soil, coming everywhere without human care, and protected in early growth by holly, but still more advantageously by hawthorn, also weeds of the soil, even against deer. Intervening large tracts, bearing nothing but heath, deny equally the growth of indigenous trees and advantageous return for tillage. That these tracts, or much of them, were then wild, cannot be doubted; and that William afterwards made large additions from cultivated private estates, has been given to general knowlege since Lord Lyttelton's time, by the publication of Domesday book, compiled by William's order. Most of those estates were granted again to individuals in presently following reigns, and mostly hold, to this day, the same names by which they are recorded in Domesday book, or so nearly the same as not to be mistaken. All of these, with hardly an exception, are at this day still so wooded, among their cultivated fields, as to be perfect for all the purposes of a forest. The very ingenious French poet-historian-philosopher's argument then, contrasted with these matters of fact, can be matter only for ridicule.

This, wide as it is from the subject, it is hoped may be allowed in a note, for its tendency to warrant observations offered in former notes, and perhaps some yet to come.

empire, where most important matters of regulation necessarily pressed for attention, is so obscurely and deficiently indicated by antient writers, that the pomp with which its success was celebrated, and the pretension to the favor of divine admonition concerning it, might appear even ridiculous, if the petition, which Alexander is stated to have addressed to the deity on the occasion, did not open light upon the large policy, the spring of all: he prayed 'that the fleet, which he was about to send from 'the Indus, by the ocean and the Persian gulph, 'to the Euphrates, might prosperously make the 'voyage.' That voyage, for vessels wholly unadapted to ocean navigation, and seamen wholly unpractised in it, whether indeed ever before performed being apparently unknown, was evidently enough of extraordinary hazard, and might well want extraordinary incouragement and stimulation for those to be employed on it. SECT. II.

Arrian, prosecuting his purpose of a military history of Alexander, has been often led, as here, to notice important facts beyond that particular object; and these, in the part with which we are now ingaged, have attracted the just attention of the commentator on the narrative of his admiral Nearchus. 'That Alexander,' says that diligent inquirer, 'had conceived a plan of the commerce 'which was afterward carried on from Alexandria 'in Egypt to the Indian ocean, I think capable of 'demonstration by his conduct after his arrival at 'Pattala. In his passage down the Indus he had 'evidently marked that river as the eastern frontier 'of his empire. He had built three cities, and for-'tified two others on this line; and he was now 'preparing for the establishment of Pattala, at the 'point of division of the river, and planning other Vincent on Nearchus; b.2.p.165.

CHAP. LIV.

'posts at its eastern and western mouths. Upon 'his arrival at Pattala he had dispatched light 'troops in pursuit of the fugitive people, who, upon 'promise of safety and protection, mostly returned. 'His next care was to explore the deserts, to find 'water, and to dig wells. This is evidence rather 'of a commercial than a military purpose; for so 'all who have travelled the deserts will esteem it, 'and such was Arrian's opinion, who says it was to 'render the country habitable.'

Reckoning Pattala then the advantageous place for the great emporium proposed for the east, as Alexandria in Egypt for the west, he inlarged his plan for making it a naval arsenal, and resolved to leave a part of his fleet there. Informed that the eastern branch of the Indus, having a less rapid current, afforded a more advantageous communication with the ocean than the western, he would himself explore it. In approaching the sea his pilots pointed out an extensive lake, with a convenient harbor, or landing-place, and good communication from the river. Leaving there the greater part of the landforce which had attended him, with all his smaller vessels, he proceeded with the larger only. Reaching the ocean, and landing on its shore, he employed three days in examining that part of the country, and then returned to his haven in the lake. Having directed there whatever his purposes appeared farther to require, he pursued his way back to Pattala.

He was now satisfied of the imprudence of undertaking, in that season of the adverse monsoon, with the means possessed by the antients, and vessels adapted to such deficient means, the navigation of the Indian ocean. He therefore directed the collecting of four months' provisions for the force

intended for that service. Even the river navigation had been found in that season hazardous. Nevertheless, in returning to his main army, he would share, with his navigators, the peril of going by water. In his extensive survey of the shores, and as far as time and circumstances would allow, of the country, having observed its wants, and the opportunities for relieving them, he sent additional parties to dig wells in various places, that water, that indispensable necessary, of which his vessels could not carry a supply for many days, might abound for his fleet in passing. SECT. II.

SECTION III.

Arrangement for the Return of the Army to Persia, and for exploring the means for Navigation between India and the Persian Gulph. Difficulties of the proposed March; Colony settled near the Coast. Failure of ordered Preparation. Sufferings in traversing the Desert.

THE northern countries which now separated the recent conquests from Persia and Media, Alexander knew from having traversed them; the southern only by report. Before he detached Craterus by the known way, he had large assurance that the other was, from natural circumstances, of difficulty, for the march of an army, extraordinary, of a numerous army insurmountable. Nor were these circumstances unknown to those selected for the expedition, but, on the contrary, rather exaggerated in report and in fancy. Several armies, which had attempted to cross the wilderness, it was said, had wholly perished there, and, even of the com- SECT. III. Arrian, l. 6. c. 21.

CHAP. LIV.

manders, only two had survived; Semiramis, queen of Assyria, celebrated in earliest profane history, and the great Cyrus; the former reaching her own dominion with only twenty attendants, the latter saving only seven. Alexander nevertheless persevered in an undertaking, however hazardous, indispensable toward the completion of his great design of providing advantageous communication and connection, for the body of his empire, with the highly valuable newly acquired eastern provinces. Without coöperation and occasional support from a landforce, it were beyond hope for a fleet, of the antient construction, and with only the antient means for navigation, to make the proposed voyage along such an extent of unknown coast; mostly desert, and, where inhabited, hostile. So however his liberality, his reputation for piety, the historian says, toward the gods, his pretensions to assurance of divine favor, supported by his extraordinary and constant successes, but especially his profuse unsparingness of himself, his reddiness upon all occasions for any fatigue, any privation, and every danger, had gained the attachment and confidence of those under him, that no unwillingness appears to have been finally shown, either in the army or in the fleet, to proceed upon the expeditions severally proposed for them; in which he was to accompany the one, with promise of all possible support to the other.

Arr. l. 6. c. 21.

B.C. 326. Ol. 133. 3. Vin. on Nearch.

It was, according to the commentator on Nearchus, founding his calculation on combined information from Strabo and Arrian, early in September that he set out from Pattala with his landforce, leaving his fleet to await there the season for navigation. The first requisite, toward his great object,

being to facilitate communication by the ocean between the river Indus and the Persian gulph, his purpose was to march the nearest to the coast that the circumstances of the country would allow. Always then reddy to take the business of most fatigue and danger, he committed the main body to Hephæstion, to proceed by the less forbidding road, higher up the country, while, with a chosen division, he diverged himself toward the barren shore, where he caused wells to be dug, and other provision to be made for the welfare of his fleet when it might pass. SECT. III.

As generally in India, so in proceeding now westward, the population was found divided into communities unable to resist, yet unwilling to obey. On the army's approach, the Arabites (called so by the Greeks from their river, the Arabis) quitting their cultivated lands, had fled to the neighboring wilds. The river was not of depth to make the passage difficult. Beyond it was a desert; of extent however not requiring much more than one night for the march across it, so as to reach, soon after daybreak, the cultivated country of the Orites. The disposition of that people being hostile, insomuch that they were prepared, not only for emigration, should it be needful, but first for resistance, Alexander hastened forward with his cavalry; and, attacking those found in arms, killed many and made many prisoners. Incamping then on the bank of a small river which crossed the way, he was there joined by Hephæstion, and the united army proceeded to Rambacia, which Arrian, tho describing it as the largest town of the Orite territory, calls nevertheless a village. Apparently it was unfortified; but the advantages of its situation, and the fruitfulness of the surrounding soil, ingaged

CHAP. LIV.

Alexander's attention. Not on the coast, it was yet so near that a fleet might have easy communication with it; and being, by all circumstances, says the historian, singularly promising for a great and florishing city, he resolved to establish a colony there, and took measures accordingly.

Beyond the Orite country was Gadrosia, a province of that formerly the Persian, now his own empire, where his Grecian satrap, Apollophanes, commanded. The western part of that extensive region, bordering on Carmania and Persia, with exception for the coast, is fruitful; the middle an immense sandy wilderness: the people of the eastern part thus, under the lax rule of the Persian satraps, had been little habituated to civil restraint. For the number of important offices to which, among his extensive and rapid conquests, Alexander had often, in necessary haste, to appoint, that selection should be always fortunate would not be to be expected from the most penetrating of mankind, even if also the most experienced. Apollophanes, according to Arrian's phrase, had done nothing of what had been commanded him. The eastern Gadroses, whether through his failure, or otherwise, not only gave a friendly reception to numerous fugitive Orites, but concurred with them in occupying a strait, on their frontier, with the purpose of disputing the passage. Information of this reached Alexander at Rambacia. To be quick, and not to commit to others what he could do himself, seem to have been always his maxims in all difficulties. He gave to Hephæstion the comparatively easy office of superintending the projected works there, while himself, with a select body, proceeded against the united Orites and Gadroses. Nor was his presence unavailing toward an easy

Arrian, l. 3. c. 26.

success. Assured that Alexander in person was come to attack them, and that, on the spot, proposal or solicitation might be addressed to him, the united people deserted their strong post; and shortly the chiefs of the Orites arrived at his camp, surrendering themselves, and offering the surrender of their nation. This being precisely what, for his objects at his new colony, he desired, he dismissed them, with direction to inform their people 'that all who would go home should have 'his protection for person and property.' SECT. III.

Returning then, he constituted Rambacia the capital of a surrounding satrapy. To the charge and dignity of satrap he appointed an officer named, in our copies of Arrian, like the satrap of Gadrosia, perhaps through error of transcribers, Apollophanes[22], and he selected a body of horse and foot to remain there, under the command of Leonnatus. His ernestness to maintain the dominion acquired in these eastern parts, to use the advantages it offered for the benefit of the whole empire, and, with that view, to assure the safety and success of his fleet in exploring the coast, are, among numerous other indications, not lightly marked in the amount and in the selection of troops for the station of Rambacia. Beside a large body, not particularly described by the historian, he left there all the Grecian mercenary horse, those middle-armed, the Agrians, whom he had distinguished as his chosen

[22] The circumstances stated by Arrian indicate that this Apollophanes was a different person from him recently mentioned by the same name to have been satrap of Gadrosia, and it seems more likely that, for the description of one or the other, transcribers may have been careless, than that Arrian would have failed to add some such distinction as that of the father's name, usual with him on other occasions, had the names of the two persons been the same.

CHAP. LIV.

companions in dashing enterprizes, and a complete division of bowmen. The whole was directed to await the passing of the naval armament, and meanwhile to support the satrap in measures for its relief and welfare.

In the march from the Indus, thus far, rivers had been found at no very great intervals. But, in the country next to be traversed, in the way to Persia, the inconveniences of a very extensive sandy wilderness were to be incountered. The heat of the air there is beyond that ordinary in other the most sultry climates. Myrrh-bearing trees, and the nard plant in great abundance, are the only produce noticed. Some Phenicians, who had followed the army in this perilous march, with mercantile views, loaded their cattle with these, in such quantities, that the abundant nard, bruised in carrying, perfumed the air. Alexander's view to the incouragement of commerce, and his ernestness in it, are, in this incidental information from the historian, clearly and strongly shown; for the merchants could not have ingaged in such an undertaking without, beyond his permission, assurance of his support. In this wilderness here and there only a very scanty population was found; food and water were everywhere scarce; and the nearer the coast, where Alexander's great object required his course, every deficiency and every inconvenience greatest. It seems indeed indicated that all were greater than might have been, had his satrap of Gadrosia executed ably and diligently the duties expected of him.

Under necessity therefore to diverge inland with his main body, Alexander detached Thoas son of Mandrodorus, with a small division of horse, to explore the country toward the sea. That officer,

on rejoining, reported, that he found inhabitants only on the coast, and those few and miserable; living on fish, in huts formed of shells and fish-bones, with water in very small quantity, to be had only by digging in the sand near the shore, and all brackish.

As the army proceeded, difficulties and distresses increased. Hills of accumulated sand, crossing the way, yielded to the step as mud, or, says the historian, rather as snow. Progress for wheeled carriages soon became impossible. Horses and mules, tho not drawing, with difficulty got forward, and, through fatigue and hunger and thirst, many perished. The march, regulated necessarily by opportunity for finding water, was sometimes very long. Night was always preferred for it; both to avoid the heat of the sun, singularly scorching in that country, and to obviate as far as might be the misery of excessive thirst. Food also was scanty and bad. The summits of palm-trees, used by the few inhabitants of the desert as a culinary vegetable, were resorted to by the troops, when the rare opportunity offered. But, as the urgency for hasty progress, and of course for bodily exertion, increased, the strength of many failed. Carriages then being necessarily left behind; and cattle, still more than men, fainting through hunger and thirst, relief in conveyance, for sick, and wounded, and weak, was impossible. In necessary care for all, says the historian, regard for individuals was lost: and, through the urgency for every one to make the greatest possible speed, the disabled were left to perish unattended. In the need of provisions and unavoidable laxity of order, with this haste, and among such distresses, numbers of horses and mules, lean as they were and exhausted, were killed by the

CHAP. LIV.

soldiers for food. On inquiry it was always pretended that they died of hunger and fatigue; and tho this, in many cases, was disbelieved, and report was made to Alexander accordingly, he judged it, says again the historian, better to seem still ignorant of the irregularity, than either to punish that for which necessity would so plead excuse, or, as knowing, yet not punishing, to appear to warrant it.

Many days these distresses had been suffered, when from a new cause, apprehension of worse arose: the guides declared they could no longer discern the way; the sand, driven by the wind, having obliterated every beaten track, and the country furnishing no landmark; not a tree, nor even any permanent irregularity of ground; while, contrary to what had been experienced in the outset, when the scorching ray had been a principal grievance, the sky was become so constantly clouded, that neither sun could be seen by day nor star by night. And this is ascertained, by modern observation, to occur regularly toward the change of the monsoon. Should they proceed, in these circumstances, they might soon become uncertain even in what direction they were going. Alexander, having considered all information, resolved, while yet the direction was known, to seek the sea. Thus far his anxious desire to explore the coast had yielded to the urgency for conducting his army, with the least delay, to a land of food and water. Now the surest, if not the shortest course to that object concurred with the other. Probably the guides, knowing yet where they were, knew that the sea was not far off. Alexander would himself lead the party for the search; tho, on inquiring for horses, only five, of the whole army, it is said, were

Vinc. on Nearch.

found able for the undertaking. Fortunately however, within an easy distance, he was gratified with a view of the Indian ocean. Returning then with the best speed, and conducting his suffering troops to the shore, he had the farther good fortune, in following its direction, to find everywhere, by digging in the sand, a sufficient supply of wholesome water; an advantage not probably unlooked for, as not only common on a sandy shore, but having been recently found by the detachment, under Thoas, which had been sent to the coast. In this course, after some days' progress, a farther advantage occurred. Objects came in view, so giving character to the face of the country, that the guides declared they could now safely quit the coast, and lead the more direct way toward that distinguished as the fruitful Gadrosia. Soon then an advantageous change was found. Cultivation came in view, and presently corn was obtained in sufficient plenty. SECT. III.

The numerous accounts, Arrian says, in his day extant, mostly concurred in asserting that the sufferings and losses of the army, in passing the Gadrosian desert, were greater than in all the preceding years, since it crossed the Hellespont. Whether the march was indeed rashly undertaken, or whatever amount of the disaster may have been owing to the failure of the satrap Apollophanes to provide expected supplies, that the king should escape blame from the vulgar tongue, or from a party adverse to himself, or to his ministers, would not be within reasonable expectation. But that, in the distresses of that march, Alexander bore his share admirably, all testimonies agree. Early in its course, when the relief of carriages was lost, and those disabled by disease, wounds, deficiency of Arrian, l. 6. c. 24.

CHAP. LIV.

food, or its badness, or by excessive heat, were, in the urgency to reach the station where relief might be obtained, necessarily left behind, probably to perish, Alexander, instead of riding, as usually with his cavalry, dismounted, and walked at the head of his infantry. Throughout the march a party was advanced before the army to seek water, attended with pioneers to dig for it where anything might afford a promise of success; of which the growth of palm-trees is said to be sure indication. In one day's march of extraordinary length, in the course of which, under a scorching sun, no water had been found, and all were suffering, some of the light-armed discovered a very small pool remaining in the bed of a winter-torrent. Proposing from this to make a grateful offering to their king, in failure of another vessel, they carried him a helmet full. Alexander taking the helmet, and commending the intention of those who brought it, poured the water on the ground. The effect, says Arrian, in incouragement to the troops, was as if every man had been refreshed with a draught: 'And I com-'mend Alexander,' he proceeds, 'for this, as an 'eminent instance of forbearance, and of conduct 'becoming a general.'

Arrian, l. 6. c. 26. Strab.

Arr. l. 6. c. 26.

Having at length reached that distinguished from the desert by the title of the fruitful Gadrosia, where his army would be presently beyond want, his fleet became his care. It appears probable that he may have had information of its departure from the Indus before the appointed time; but of the delays, which in the sequel we shall find occurring, intelligence is not so likely to have reached him. Anxious therefore for its welfare, he sent a quantity of corn, in packages sealed with his signet, under an escort, to wait its arrival on the barren coast,

c. 23.

distinguished as the land of the fisheaters, which extended from the Orite country nearly to the mouth of the Persian gulph. On this desolate shore the provision for the escort itself was consumed, while no fleet yet appeared, or could be heard of. Hunger then pressing, the store in charge was invaded and, nearly all being used, while still no intelligence of the fleet arrived, the escort rejoined the army. In its report, the necessity of its situation was made so evident that Alexander, says the historian, forgave the irregularity.

But, as he proceeded, he found farther proof of what Arrian, in his commonly concise way, sums up in saying, that his satrap of that extensive province, to whom he looked for relief for his fleet, his army, and himself, Apollophanes, had done nothing of what had been commanded him. Failure to provide food for all seems to have been at least among his deficiencies. Alexander therefore, taking on himself, as usual, any office for the duties of which he was anxious, rode around the country to superintend and inforce the collection of corn and flour; which he committed to Telephus of his band of companions, and Cretheus another confidential officer, to escort to different parts of the coast, there to await the fleet's arrival. Meanwhile others were directed to procure, from the northward, flour and dates and sheep, which should follow.

Proceeding then, it was, according to Arrian and Strabo, about the sixtieth day after the departure from the Indus, and, according to Vincent's careful computation, toward the end of October, that the army arrived at Poora, the capital of Gadrosia, situated in a plentiful part of that province so extensively a barren wilderness. Here Alexander gave his wayworn troops the rest they so much

CHAP. LIV.

needed. Apollophanes was dismissed from the satrapy, and Thoas, whom we have seen lately successful in a critical military command, was appointed to it. Probably that deserving officer had suffered from his exertions in the severe service of the desert; for he died presently after. The Gadrosian government including Arachosia, for extent, together with its critical situation, must have been a very important trust. It was committed to Sibyrtius, who previously held the satrapy of the smaller neighboring province of Carmania, where Tlepolemus son of Pythophanes succeeded him. It seems to have been at Poora that a large supply of horses and camels arrived from the northern provinces, provided by the diligence of Stasanor, satrap of Areia and Zarangia, and Phrataphernes satrap of Parthia and Hyrcania, to repair the loss of troop-horses, and baggage-cattle, which had been foreseen as hardly avoidable in crossing the desert.

The army then being refreshed, supplies obtained, and necessary arrangements settled, the march was resumed westward. Some progress had been made, when intelligence arrived of a mutiny in the army in India, wherein Philip, commander-in-chief there, a man apparently much esteemed by Alexander, had lost his life; with the satisfactory addition, however, that it had been completely quelled by the surviving officers, supported especially by the Macedonians of the commander-in-chief's body-guard, and that the principal mutineers, mercenaries of various nations, had been put to death. The steddy and animated loyalty of the Macedonians, left in that distant province, would be the more gratifying to Alexander on account of his late difference with all the

Macedonians of his army. Such was the assurance of complete order restored, that he judged it sufficient to send a written commission for Eudemus, apparently a Macedonian, and the Indian prince Taxiles, jointly to superintend the affairs of the Indian dominion, till he might appoint another satrap. SECT. III.

The province he was now approaching, Carmania, bordering eastward on Gadrosia, westward on the Persian gulph, northward on proper Persia, was toward the coast a continuation of the Gadrosian sandy desert, with intervals only of a soil somewhat, and not greatly, better; but, within-land an elevated country, of a more tempered heat of atmosphere, and eminently fruitful. The people were in manners, habits and language, Persian. Tho difficulty in the march from Poora is not specified, yet Alexander seems, not till he had reached Carmania, to have reckoned that the troubles of his painful march were decidedly over, and that he was completely returned to the body of that rich empire, so rapidly conquered, whence, separated by a range of mountains the longest in the world, and, among the loftiest, and by a desert among the largest, he had been absent near six years. In Carmania Craterus was to join him with that large portion of the army which, for avoiding the desert, had been directed to march through Arachosia. In Carmania Stasanor came to wait upon him from Areia, and Pharismanes, deputed by his father Phrataphernes, from Parthia; apparently to report circumstances of the important governments over which they presided. Strab.l.15

In the rapidity of his earlier successes, having allowed but a few weeks of his presence in any one place of his extensive conquests, for the

CHAP. LIV.

establishment of his dominion, it cannot be wonderful if, on his return now, he did not find the negligence of his satrap of Gadrosia alone a cause of dissatisfaction, but rather that, in such an absence from so new a dominion, so extensive, so rich and so populous, great troubles, and of difficult suppression, had not arisen. Deficient as our information is of particulars, the result enough shows that he employed able ministers, and that his own judgement in selection and direction was excellent. Nevertheless the distance to which his ambitious and roving temper had led him, his purpose declared to carry conquest to an unknown extent still eastward, his frequent serious dangers, giving occasion sometimes to reports even that he was dead, incouraged those left in command, if inclination at all prompted, to malversation in office; some only for private lucre, to the oppression of those under them, others with revolutionary purposes. Craterus arriving, according to orders, with the largest portion of the army, and all the elephants, brought with him, as a prisoner, an eminent Persian, Orsanes; who, among the people between northern India and Carmania, had been exciting revolt. In pursuance of commands also the generals Cleander, Sitalces, and Heracon arrived from Media, with part of the forces, formerly under Parmenio, and, since his death, under their command. The names indicate Sitalces to have been a Thracian; the two others Greeks, whether of Macedonia or the republics. Accusation had been preferred against all for oppression and peculation. Alexander ordered their trials; and, evidence from the army itself confirming that of the people of the country, Cleander and Sitalces were condemned and exe-

SECT. III.

cuted. Heracon was acquitted. But the fame of Alexander's severe justice, confirming former assurances of his anxiousness for the welfare of all under his empire, and of his determined impartiality in providing for it, incouraged the Susians to institute accusation against Heracon. Among other matters, robbery of the treasury of one of their principal temples was proved against him, and he then suffered death. These just severities, the historian says, were highly consolatory to Alexander's new subjects, and powerfully conciliated their attachment. The manner of the trials is not mentioned; but, considering Alexander's recent concession, or rather submission, to the Macedonian part of his army, together with the circumstance that, in these accusations, the army itself concurred with the people of the country, no dissatisfaction among the old subjects being noticed, it seems every way probable that, as in the trials of Philotas and the Lyncestian Alexander, all was conducted according to the Macedonian law.

Ch.50.s.4. of this History.

The army being now reässembled, and business, pressing for immediate attention, being settled, the usual ceremonies of piety toward the gods, and gratification for the troops, followed. A magnificent thanksgiving sacrifice was offered for the Indian victories, and for the preservation of the king, and his surviving companions in arms, among the perils of the wilderness; and this was followed by gymnic exercises and theätrical entertainments.

Rewards to deserving officers at the same time ingaged Alexander's attention. Among these Peucestas, to whom he reckoned himself indebted for the preservation of his life, when he rashly leaped within the Mallian fortification, was eminently distinguished. Hitherto the number of those great

CHAP. LIV.

officers of the court, intitled body-guards, had been limited to seven. This number being full, Peucestas, now added, made an eighth.

Falsehoods, affecting the characters of eminent men, if they have obtained any extensive credit, may be objects for historical notice, not only in justice to those men, but as they assist to mark the character of the times in which they were published and held credit. Arrian has mentioned the report of some authors, that Alexander traversed Carmania, lying in a vehicle formed of two of his ordinary chariots, surrounded by his favorite companions, with music continually playing, while the troops marched as in a procession of the festival of Bacchus, with licentious merriment, by short stages, at each of which luxurious fare was provided for them. Among the promulgators of that report we find Diodorus; and it was too inviting for the taste of Curtius, and perhaps of those to whom principally he looked for readers, to be omitted by him. On the contrary Arrian, after reporting the story, says, 'I do not believe it; as it is noticed neither 'by Ptolemy son of Lagus, nor by Aristobulus 'son of Aristobulus, nor by any other author worthy of credit. For my account I have followed 'Aristobulus.'

Diod. l. 17. c. 106. Curt. l. 9. c. 10.

Arrian, l. 6. c. 28.

CHAPTER LV.

Voyage of NEARCHUS.

SECTION I.

Authority for the Narrative. Deficiency of Means for the Undertaking. The Fleet to be employed. The Monsoon. Appointment of Officers. Foreseen Difficulties of the Undertaking.

SECT. I.

ALEXANDER was still in Carmania when he had the satisfaction to receive information of the safe arrival of his fleet, from the Indus, at a harbor of the Persian gulph; and soon after to see his admiral, Nearchus, coming to report to him the circumstances of the voyage.

For this interesting, and singular, yet formerly neglected portion of antient history, neglected apparently because difficult and doubtful, it is no ordinary advantage, for the writer of the present day, to have it before him elucidated by the learning, talent, and devoted diligence of the late dean of Westminster, Vincent. Of his commentary on the narrative, derived, through Arrian, from that of Nearchus himself[1], as of a gift to the world, free

[1] We have Arrian's express testimony to this in his history of Alexander, Ὅτως δὲ ἐκλείσθη αὐλῶ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν Θάλασσαν τὴν Περσικὴν, καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Τίγρητος, ταῦτα ἰδίᾳ ἀνγράψω, αὐλῶ Νεάρχῳ ἑπόμενος. Arr. de exped. Alex. l. 6. c. 28.

CHAP. LV.

use will be made; while, nevertheless, liberty will be taken for any animadversion which the duty of a writer for the public may appear to require. If thus the account, here following, should, in some places, have more of the character of a dissertation than were desirable in the flow of history, it will be found, it is hoped, not more than the circumstances demand.

To begin then with the words of the able commentator: 'The voyage of Nearchus is the first 'event of general importance to mankind in the 'history of navigation. In the first instance it 'opened a communication between Europe and the 'most distant countries of Asia. At a later period 'it was the origin of the Portuguese discoveries, 'the foundation of the greatest commercial system 'ever introduced into the world, and consequently, 'the primary cause of the British establishments in 'India. The narrative of this voyage has been 'preserved to us by Arrian, whose peculiar felicity 'it has been to rise in estimation in proportion to 'the attention bestowed on the transactions he re-'cords. As our knowlege of India has increased, 'the accuracy of his historical researches has been 'established; and, as the limits of geography have 'been extended, the exactness of his information 'has become daily more conspicuous, and, the 'purity of the sources, whence he drew, more fully 'established[2]. At this day we may deem lightly

[2] The authenticity of that narrative, which has been preserved to us as Arrian's, is proved, I think, almost superfluously by his able commentator; for to me there seems never to have existed reasonable cause to question it. Yet among those who have endevored to throw doubts on it, is a critic to whom I have found occasion formerly to acknowlege no inconsiderable obligation, Dodwell; of whom however Vincent says that he has been apt to be extreme in scepticism,

'of a voyage which required so much preparation 'to accomplish, and which a single sloop would 'now perform in a tenth part of the time.' The able commentator however would be aware, as will also the reader, that the great advantage of the modern navigator is owing to the discovery of powers in nature, and the possession of instruments to profit from them, unknown till near two thousand years after Alexander; without which hardly could the voyage be rationally undertaken at all, in any of our vessels adapted to the navigation of the ocean. Vincent accordingly has well added, 'but 'the merit of the attempt is to be estimated by the 'originality of the conception;' and, it may be farther added, by the difficulties and dangers of the undertaking, and the judgement which saw it, with all its difficulties and dangers, not absolutely impracticable, even with the scanty means which the age afforded.

For the fleet to be employed, a small portion only was wanted of that, mostly adapted to river navigation, which had borne a large division of the army, cavalry as well as infantry, with stores for

as some others in credulity; an assertion which I will not undertake to controvert, tho I do not recollect that it has formerly occurred to me. But I think scepticism has been not a little a prevailing passion among critics; not a few of whom may be found arrogantly, and for the matter often ignorantly (as in the instance of Voltaire on Newforest, mentioned in a former note) and altogether mischievously, controverting antient authority. For the voyage of Nearchus, three accounts of it having, beyond question, been published by persons who performed it, and a fourth, in the same language, by Arrian, abridging that of Nearchus himself, that it should, with any imaginable view, in any imaginable age, have been attempted to impose on the world a spurious account, pretending it to be Arrian's, and especially one so simple and concise as that which has been transmitted, appears so strikingly improbable, that the attempt to disprove its authenticity seems to me hardly more mischievous than extravagant and absurd.

CHAP. LV.

all, down the Indus, and wafted elephants from shore to shore. Of the two kinds of antient vessels, distinguished by the names of long ships and round ships, we have observed the former, tho utterly unfit to keep the sea, alone used as ships of war; being the best adapted to naval action with antient arms, and alone capable of action in the calms, to which the Mediterranean is subject. Experience of a more stormy atmosphere, with shores varying twice daily with the tide, and in some parts greatly, led the ruder people bordering on the Atlantic to a different construction. Thus those of that part of Gaul now called Brittany, with vessels better adapted to their sea, long distressed the invader of their country, the great Julius; and tho his numerous fleet would combine the improvements of the Carthaginians with those of the Greeks, yet the able use of a fortunate occurrence of very calm weather seems alone to have inabled him at length to overcome them. When Alexander proposed his expedition on the ocean, his naval advisers had had no experience of the kind; and even the Roman navigators remained so attached to their old ways, that, for the commerce between the coast of Gaul and the mouth of the Thames, the trading vessels, to avoid the North Foreland, threaded the narrow and shallow channel which formerly made Thanet an iland, but now remains distinguishable hardly as a ditch.

C. J. Cæs. de Bell. Gall. l. 3.

That an enemy was to be apprehended on the seas, capable of contending with the force which Alexander might give to the expedition, seems no way probable; but, for a survey of the coast, perhaps not less than for battle, the long ships were, with the antient art of navigation, best adapted; able always to hold to the shore, to make

way without wind, or, if not over violent, even against it, and to land without the intervention of boats. For a voyage of any length however they had very considerable inconveniences. To so many hands as were wanted for giving sufficient impulse with oars, they afforded, as Vincent has well observed, 'neither space for motion nor convenience 'for rest; so that continuing on board at night was 'always a calamity.' Beside the proper crews, therefore, liable to great fatigue with rowing, a military force was wanted for a nightly camp ashore; and thus the vessel was still the more incumbered.

But neither of the number of the vessels employed has clear information reached us, nor of the quality, further than that they were all of the galley or rowboat kind. In the fleet on the river were some of the most powerful commonly yet used in battle by the Greeks, the triremes; and some of the second rank, the biremes. Vincent seems clearly right in supposing that none of these were allotted to the fleet for discovery. Even the penteconter, or vessel of fifty oars, which was, to the Greek fleets of triremes, as our frigates to line-of-battle ships, is not mentioned, but only the triaconter, or vessel of thirty oars, the smallest used for war, as our sloops. And this vessel seems clearly to have been best suited to the purpose. The seamen would know it to be better adapted to bear a rough sea than the bireme, or any of the vessels which, with more than one tier of oars, were more powerful in battle; and so much we have seen proved even for the landmen, in the voyage on the river. It was also more convenient than even the penteconter, for frequent landing, and for being lodged in safety on a beach, beyond reach of waves

CHAP. LV.

or surf. The number of vessels would be calculated to carry the force requisite for resisting, or deterring, hostilities to be expected, not on the waves, but ashore. Thirty-three triaconters are mentioned as of the river-fleet, and Vincent has not unreasonably reckoned all to have been probably assigned to the expedition on the ocean. Store-ships attended; but these, for power to accompany a fleet of rowboats, being necessarily also rowboats, their room for stowage would be scanty. It is indicated, in the course of the narrative, that the fleet altogether could carry water for only five days, and food for ten.

Of that extraordinary circumstance of the Indian ocean, and most important for navigators, the regularity of the winds, known by the name of Monsoon, some experience had been acquired, and no doubt much information. That the wind blew nearly six months of the year regularly from the north-east, and six from the south-west, would probably be ascertained. Its extent, which is from Madagascar to Japan, none then could know; and even whether it held throughout the proposed course along the coast of the ocean, complete assurance would hardly be gathered. For its fluctuations, ordinary for many days about the seasons of change, and the various disturbance to which it is liable, in approaching the coast, from mountains, capes and bays, intercepting or directing its course, and in nearer approach, the occasional but uncertain prevalence of the land and sea-breezes, which alternate every twenty-four hours, if any undertook to know, yet whom to trust for knowlege, and at the same time for fidelity, would be difficult to judge; and then to find interpreters able to explain clearly the information given, might

be a second and not less difficulty. The existing monsoon was adverse, not only as opposing the proposed course, but as inhancing another adverse circumstance, of which, in Alexander's voyages to the ocean, not only information would have been obtained, but something would have been seen. On the shores of the Indian seas, generally, the surf is greater than in most other parts of the world; and this inconvenient agitation of the water would be stimulated by the wind of the monsoon, then existing, blowing from the sea; abated by the wind of the monsoon to come, blowing from that land, along which was to be the course. Accordingly Alexander ordered that the fleet should wait at Pattala, where he had provided great advantages, till the promised change of the monsoon were completed. Arr. Ind. c. 20.

For a commander of the proposed expedition, he had difficulty. Ernest upon the enterprize, he dreaded its failure, not only for the disappointment of his great purposes, but as it might tarnish his alreddy acquired glory, and deprive him of the advantage, not a small one, of his reputation for never-failing success. Among the antients, Romans as well as Greeks, the duties of the land and sea-service, as we have had occasion formerly to observe, were not allotted to different establishments of officers; a general commanded the fleet, as a branch of the military of the state, and the captain of a trireme had commonly his equal command in the land-service; a combination of military and naval rank, which with all its far greater inconvenience for modern naval war, remarkably enough subsisted, till of late days, in the French service. For the importance of the trust, and the glory to insue from success in it,

CHAP. LV.

Alexander was desirous of committing the command-in-chief to one of his most favorite and confidential generals; for so much, tho not avowed, appears enough marked in the account which Arrian seems to have given in Nearchus's own words. But, for a voyage of discovery, a nautical skill was necessary, which none of those generals had had opportunity to acquire. For directing the navigation therefore two others had been principally in view; Onesicritus of Astypalæa in the iland of Cos, and Nearchus son of Andromenes, born a Cretan, but become, by settling in Amphipolis, a Macedonian subject. Both appear to have been bred seamen of the Ægean; tho Onesicritus is said, at one time of his life, to have studied in the school of the celebrated Cynic philosopher Diogenes. The view, ordinary among the Greeks, to profit from military service in Asia, seems to have been the inducement for both to ingage in the army, for the invasion of that inviting country; and Nearchus, whether for previous reputation, or recommending himself in the course of the expedition, had been chosen to command, under the king only, the immense fleet in the voyage on the rivers. Onesicritus, as the better educated man, probably the pleasanter companion, had been preferred to command the vessel in which the king himself sailed. Nearchus, with talent, activity, and courage, not to be doubted, has put it equally beyond doubt, that he had much vanity and self-importance, with little liberality. His own account, invidiously directed, in exalting himself, to vilify the Macedonian generals, may alone justify their unwillingness to undertake a highly important and most critical command, for the most essential business of which, the direction of a difficult and

SECT. I.

hazardous navigation, they must be dependent on such a man, commanding under them. All declined it, and none appear so to have lost anything of Alexander's estimation or favor. The command-in-chief then, according still to his own account, as reported by Arrian, was committed to Nearchus alone; but Strabo, who appears to have compared all accounts in his time extant, mentions Onesicritus as having had a joint authority with him; tho whether as equal, a mode common with both Greeks and Romans, or only second, is not clearly said; but even Arrian's narrative, in the sequel, indicates that he had a share in the command, and, moreover, that there was a third in the commission, a Macedonian of distinction, Archias son of Anaxidotus of Pella. This person had held the rank of trierarc in the river voyage; probably a young man, and little a seaman, but willing, for the honor and emolument, to share the dangers and troubles of the expedition. In adverting to Alexander's former policy, it seems every way likely that a Macedonian would be joined with the ilanders in such a trust. Nearchus, however, with all his haughty pretensions, having the suppleness and art to gain Archias, appears to have held effectually, through a majority in the triumvirate, what his own account has claimed for him, the command-in-chief.

For the success of the expedition nothing within Alexander's large means had been omitted. The fleet was not only fitted well but splendidly; a matter not indifferent toward conciliating and incouraging the many. The crews were mostly practised seamen, selected, from the army, among recruits from the various shores of the Ægean and Propontis, Cyprus, Phenicia, and Egypt;

CHAP. LV.

and, as the project appears to have been long in Alexander's view likely to have been ingaged for the purpose. These would all have become, in some degree, practised soldiers; but, with a view to probable urgency, a chosen body for land-service was also put aboard. The officers appear to have been mostly such as Nearchus approved, inasmuch as he has given them general praise for zeal and activity in preparation for the voyage, tho for nothing farther. He seems indeed to have had more talent for commanding the cheerful obedience of those under him, necessary to his own credit and interest, than disposition either to agree with his superiors or equals, or to give merited praise to his inferiors, when he no longer wanted them. Nevertheless, reddier, as on some occasions he has shown himself, for illiberal slander, than just commendation, yet he has so far done justice to his king as to acknowlege, not only the excellent condition of the fleet committed to him, but also the advantage he derived from Alexander's example in venturing himself among the first to enter the ocean, by each branch of the Indus; and he has added, that the confidence, thus excited, was strengthened by the solemn ceremonies of thanksgiving and prayer to the gods, performed on the occasion, and by the consideration of Alexander's neverfailing success, in whatever he had undertaken; which Grecian piety was ordinarily disposed to attribute to the favor of the gods toward the successful adventurer.

Pilots had been found for the river, as far as the ocean, and perhaps they might have been found for proceeding along the coast of Malabar; where circumstances certainly afforded great invitation for trade, which Vincent, tho without any direct infor-

mation from antiquity, has supposed alreddy flo-rishing. But for the long and hazardous course along the barren and ill-inhabited coast, repelling for the merchant, from the mouth of the Indus to the entrance of the Persian gulph, no man, according to the narrative, was found who could serve as a pilot; and, probably enough, no man who had ever made the voyage.

Nevertheless there appears large indication that Nearchus would not be unattended by persons acquainted with the land along the coast, as far, at least, as the country of the Arabites and Orites extended, whom Alexander, in passing, had reduced to obedience. For the long desert shore of Gadrosia, in which were only scattered habitations of the fisheaters, there would be some greater difficulties, but probably also some advantages. Gadrosia, a satrapy of the late Persian empire, had now been years under Alexander's dominion. His satrap there, indeed, had not duly executed orders; but this deficiency, on his own arrival, we have seen him active to repair. Guides had been found for the army's way across the desert; so that, tho reduced, by the circumstances of the season, to difficulty for the course in the sandy plain, yet, having reached the coast, and followed its direction for some days, as soon as they could perceive the highlands, they again knew where they were. Means then hardly would be wholly wanting for Alexander's power to extend communication to most parts of the shore, and his will clearly would not fail to provide information and assistance for his fleet in its progress.

SECTION II.

Published Narratives of the Voyage of Nearchus. Remarkable Omissions in the extant Narrative. The Voyage begun during the adverse Monsoon: Delays in the River: Early and long Delay on the Shore of the Ocean. Arrival on the Coast of the Orite country.

CHAP. LV.

THE account of the navigation on the rivers, as far as Pattala, and down the two channels of the Indus to the ocean and back again, have been alreddy given from Arrian's history of Alexander, drawn from the generals Ptolemy and Aristobulus. But their narratives of naval measures are not likely to have gone farther than they accompanied the fleet. Of the adventurous following voyage on the ocean, however, three accounts were published by persons who served on it; Nearchus, the commander-in-chief, Onesicritus, either his associate or second in command, and Androsthenes, of the iland of Thasus, become, by settling in Amphipolis, like Nearchus, a Macedonian subject. He had held as well Archias the naval rank of trierarc on the rivers[s], and now probably was commander of one of the vessels, or, as that rank might rather require, of a division of them. All these works have perished: of the last only one passage remains noticed by Strabo; of the second, several by the same eminent writer, and Pliny, and others: of the first, Arrian having chosen it for his guide, the essence, fortunately, has been preserved, and probably all that was valuable in it:

[s] This, on comparing the passages, in Arrian, twice mentioning Androsthenes, appears the probably just description of the writer of the voyage.

unless that, as a singularity, among relics from the antients, a seaman's journal, as it came from his hand, might have been an interesting curiosity. The form, however, given it by Arrian, little differing from that of a journal, and his known judgement and scrupulous adherence to authority, afford every likelihood that, in using, generally his own, yet sometimes, apparently, the original words, he has given everywhere fairly the original sense, omitting nothing important, and even abridging little. Strabo, referring frequently to the original of Nearchus for geographical information, adds to Arrian's account in regard to one important matter, confirms it in others, and contradicts it in none.

The accounts then of those two eminent writers concurrently show, that the fleet quitted the port of Pattala, and proceeded for the ocean, in a most unfavorable season, near two months before the ordinary time of the change of the monsoon, for which Alexander had directed that it should wait. Arrian, without mentioning any cause for this, begins his narrative of the voyage with stating, that, in a remission of the etesian winds, his phrase for the monsoon, the fleet set out, not then from Pattala, but from a port unnamed, hardly so little as a hundred miles lower down the river, being within ten or twelve miles of its mouth; and after this, he proceeds to add the remarkable circumstance, that Nearchus had previously solemnized a sacrifice to Jupiter the preserver, and treated the armament with the amusement of gymnic exercises[4].

[4] Ὡς δὲ τὰ ἐτήσια πνεύματα ἐκοιμήθη—τότε δὴ ὥρμηντο. Arr. Ind. c. 21. In prosecuting the account he shows in clear terms, that the stormy and adverse monsoon, blowing from

CHAP. LV.

But Strabo has mentioned, what is not found in Arrian, that Nearchus, in some publication, stated a cause for his measure, which necessity only could justify. The Indians, he said, desirous of throwing off a forein dominion, and resuming courage after the king's departure with the army, came against him in arms. But here also the place, where he was so attacked or threatened, is unnamed; and this failure, in both the accounts, is the more remarkable, as the name of every the most insignificant place touched at by the fleet afterward, and of some which it meerly passed, are stated by Arrian, and several are also noticed by Strabo. As far as ground then is offered for conjecture, when it is considered that even the mutiny in the army, which produced the catastrophë of the governor-general, Philip, shook Alexander's Indian dominion but for a moment, it seems utterly unlikely that any Indian force could compel Nearchus to quit Pattala, fortified as it was by Grecian art, prepared with care for a naval station, and plentifully provided.

Nor is this important failure the only one in the narrative requiring notice, and the more for causes which will appear in the sequel. The naval station provided by Alexander at Killuta, as subsidiary to that of Pattala, and on the same side of the river, the eastern, or left, appears marked by its distance from the ocean, for the place of the sacrifice offered and games exhibited by Nearchus, and whence the fleet took its departure. Yet Vincent, in his careful comparison of antient with modern accounts, has expressed a doubt whether that place was not

the ocean, was not even near its end: Πνεύματα μεγάλα, ἐκ τοῦ πόντου, ἔνεισι, καὶ συνεχέα. Ibid.

on the opposite bank. Thus altogether we are without any information of the circumstances of the voyage, perhaps more than a hundred miles, down the river, from Pattala, where Arrian's narrative, derived from the generals Aristobulus and Ptolemy leaves it, till the moving of the fleet from the station within ten miles of the bar against the ocean, with which his narrative, following, as he professes, that of Nearchus, begins. Where then the hostilities occurred, as reported by Strabo, seems yet more doubtful; and where even was the place of the sacrifice and games, mentioned by Arrian, is far from clear; yet so far not likely to have been the same, as such ceremonies aud festivities indicate secure possession and leisure; if not in perfect peace with all around, yet at least such as might have some assurance within good fortifications with a strong garrison.

The time of the departure from that station seems well ascertained, by Vincent, to have been about the beginning of October, and a month or six weeks after Alexander's departure with the army for the march across the desert. But then occurs farther difficulty. The first progress was of a dilatoriness not accounted for. In an acknowleged remission of the adverse wind, with opportunity therefore to be supposed, and in no degree denied, to profit from the tide's alternacy, the first day's course was of only about six miles. For the measure, Vincent's calculation, the result of unsparing pains, amid indeed extraordinary difficulty, is followed here, and will be in the sequel. The fleet then reaching a large creek, entered it, and the crews, landing, remained ashore two days. The name of the place, tho that of the more important previous station fails, is here given, Stoora; but neither of inhabitants is

Arr. Ind. c. 21.

CHAP. LV.

anything said, nor of cause for the stay, nor is it in any way shown on which side of the river Stoora lay. Circumstances only suggest the supposition that, if Killuta was the place whence the fleet took its departure, the shelter of a lee-shore, and the advantage of a shorter course by that shore toward the point to be turned at the river's mouth, would combinedly invite to cross the river at the earliest opportunity.

On the third day the fleet moved again, but to advance only about two miles, to another similar creek. Here again the name of the place is given, Caumana; but reason still for the smallness of the progress fails, tho the station is acknowleged to have been disadvantageous, as affording no water uninjured by the tide from the ocean. The progress then on the next day was of only one mile, to a third inlet, at a place called Coreatis. All these inlets are marked, by the phrase describing them, to have been, canals, partly at least artificial[5]; and Vincent seems justly to have supposed them such as they are, at this day, numerous among the flats widely spreding from the banks of Indian rivers. Names of places commonly indicate population, and such works moreover indicate commerce and wealth; yet no people are mentioned; nor any produce of the places but water. Whether then, after Alexander's protecting presence was withdrawn, exaction or other ill treatment had been suffered by the people here, or accounts from other parts had so excited apprehension that, like those of Pattala, on the first approach of the fleet and army, all had fled, must be left for such conjecture

[5] Διώρυχες.

as the narrative itself, without farther help of antient testimony, may afford ground for. SECT. II.

The progress now made in six days, according to Vincent's careful computation, was of only about nine miles. He has supposed the opposition of the wind may have sufficed to prevent better speed. It must indeed have been violent, if it denied opportunity to use the ebbing tide for progress, under protection of a lee-shore; yet, tho, on several following occasions, hindrance from violence of adverse wind is mentioned in the narrative, it is wholly unnoticed here.

On the seventh day, however, the wind, as the circumstances related show, was not violent. Early on that day the fleet reached the bar at the river's mouth, now called the bar of Sindi; a feature of nature which, tho liable to great alterations, is yet of a kind so far permanent, as to afford some sure assistance for geographical calculation, which Vincent has not failed to use. In proceeding toward the ocean, with the view to a westerly course along its shore, it would be highly desirable for rowboats to hold to the western side of the river. But on that side, it seems, was no channel across the bar. This however, tho a great hindrance for trade westward, with vessels deep with burthen, and, for economy, carrying few hands, was little for Nearchus, whose vessels were floaty, and hands numerous. Any natural channel, indeed, the course crooked, and depth varying, and both liable to alteration from every storm, might have difficulties and obstructions, hazardous for such a fleet, under guidance of the most practised pilot. Nearchus, therefore, using the opportunity of low-water, caused a strait and even-bottomed channel to be dug through the easily moved sand, and the fleet passed on the

CHAP. LV.

supervening balanced flood, without accident. Wind then being still evidently moderate, it turned the western headland, and, in a course of nine or ten miles, reached the channel between the mainland and an iland, whose name, written by the Greeks, Crocala, is nearly preserved to this day in that of a bay of the opposite coast, which our fellowcountryman Robinson, who was employed to survey it, proposing to indicate the oriental pronuntiation as nearly as might be with our letters, has written Crotchey-bay.

Here first, in the narrative, occurs any notice that the country passed, and so often landed on, was peopled. Hostility is avowed to have been apprehended. Mostly barren toward the coast, but fruitful within, this was the territory of the Arabees; a predatory hord, like the Belooches or Bloachees who now hold it, and reduced by Alexander, in passing, to but uncertain order. For better security therefore the desert iland was preferred for the repose, wanted by the crews after their labor, and they staid through the next day. Proceeding on the day following, the fleet turned the headland called by Arrian Eirus, by our navigators Cape Monze. Here, first, violence of wind is mentioned. Fortunately a little onward a haven was found, most commodious for vessels of the galley kind, protected by a small iland against the assaults of the adverse monsoon. The haven was called Sangada, the iland then Bibacta, now, by our navigators, Chilney. In three days the fleet had yet advanced hardly twenty miles on the ocean, when such was the threatening aspect of the weather, that, in apprehension of necessary delay, Nearchus fortified his station; and not meerly in the common manner of a wayfaring

camp, but strengthening the outer face of the rampart with stone, which the neighborhood fortunately afforded. No less than twenty-four days the fleet was detained here by storms violent and continual. Notwithstanding the mention of apprehended hostilities, no actual communication with inhabitants of the country, friendly or hostile, is noticed; nor is it said that the place afforded any thing of value but an abundance of shellfish, with perhaps other fish[6], and water, which however was all brackish. Yet Nearchus, in honor of his soverein, the harbor itself being excellent, named the place Alexander's haven.

No doubt as soon as the fleet, having crossed the bar of Sindi, was fairly on the ocean, the adverse wind blowing, and the adverse waves rolling, without check from the farthest point of Africa, would affect rowboats very differently from what had been experienced within the river, and in a manner they were ill calculated to bear. Surely the pressure must have been severe that could drive the admiral from the advantages of Pattala, even to proceed down the river; and it must have been actively and strongly maintained, apparently on both shores, if it could compel him to abandon all the shelter which the river afforded, and meet certain peril from adverse gales on the ocean, or seek safety in a temporary fort, on a coast, still hostile, and affording nothing but fish and brackish water. The learned commentator, in his report, anxious for the reputation of the commander of the expedition, which he so zealously devoted himself to illustrate, has imagined what seems to deserve notice only for the high character of its

[6] Μυες θαλάσσιοι.

CHAP. LV.

proposer. In Strabo's age, he observes, powerful pirates, such as in modern times have infested the Indian seas, were formidable on the coast of Malabar; and, supposing that, alreddy in Alexander's age, a rich commerce was carried on between that coast and the Indus, piracy, having there its object, may alreddy have been also florishing. But on the coast eastward of the Indus, evidently, there was no maritime commerce; insomuch that Vincent himself has stated it as doubtful whether a single ship had ever performed the voyage which Nearchus had undertaken. Robbery by land, such as, according to all the histories of Alexander, was practised by so many Asiatic hords, required little preparation and little expence; but piracy much of both. No cargo that the fleet under Nearchus could carry, unless it were gold, the plunder of injured nations, could be an object for piracy; and the prospect of hard blows and no profit will not allure to that crime against nations. But hostility on the sea, had any ground or pretence for apprehension of it existed, would have been so much more an interesting matter for the narrative than the acknowleged fear of attack by land, that the failure of mention of it seems enough to prove that none existed.

When Alexander, on moving with his army eastward, left orders with his admiral Nearchus to await the change of the monsoon for moving, it could not be in his contemplation, or that of his council, that, before the fleet had advanced twenty miles from the mouth of the Indus, it would be in distress for provisions. Nevertheless, considering that the object of his perilous and painful march was to assist his fleet, and considering moreover all that is indicated in Arrian's accounts of the

march and of the voyage, it may seem probable that a supply of provisions, furnished through Alexander's care, tho not acknowleged in the narrative published after his death, was found at that place which, with the purpose of compliment to him, while living, the admiral named Alexander's haven.

After so long a stay at a place so little inviting, the adverse season was not yet ended, when, in a remission of the gales, the fleet moved; but proceeded only about six miles to a desert island which, with protection against winds and waves, afforded also the comfort of sweet water. Here however only one night was passed. On the morrow the advance was of near twenty miles, and in the evening the fleet reached a good situation, where sweet water was found within half a mile of the shore. These, and some following circumstances are interesting only as, through their accordance with modern accounts, they evince the accuracy of the narrative, wherever the private interests of the narrator are not involved. On the following day, after a nearly equal progress, a passage between two rocks, barely leaving room for the oars, led into an extensive haven, with deep water, and shelter against all winds[7]. Here however again only one night was passed. In issuing on the morrow by the same outlet, the swell was such that the rocks were with difficulty cleared; but, with just exertion, damage was avoided. In

Arr. Ind. c. 22.

Vinc. on Nearchus.

[7] Vincent assumes two days here; and of course a greater yet unascertained progress; not without some, tho, as he has professed, doubtful, ground in the narrative. For his purpose of measuring both the time and the space of the course, it has been necessary to state precisely his best conjecture where certainty has been unattainable. For a meerly historical account it is little important.

CHAP. LV.

proceeding then choice was offered of a channel, sheltered by a woody iland, but so narrow that, the narrative says, it might have seemed a work of art. Appearing however sufficient for such vessels, it was preferred to the open sea, and the fleet seems to have rested the night within it. Moving at dawn, the mouth of the river Arabis was reached early in the day. Here was shelter against wind and waves, but no fresh water. The fleet therefore proceeded immediately two miles up the river; and, having supplied itself, returned, in the afternoon, to the station at the mouth. This procedure seems to strengthen the probability that Nearchus had the assistance of persons aboard with him, acquainted, if not with the sea, yet with the shore, at least as far as this river, and who could inform him where the needful supply, denied at the river's mouth, could be so obtained. An abundance of shell and other fish, found here, afforded farther refreshment, but inhabitants remain unmentioned.

Arr. Ind. c. 23.

Thus far the country of the Arabees, and with it, that people being of Indian race and language and manners, India, in antient estimation, extended. On the western bank of the Arabis the land was claimed by the Orites, who were not Indians. Their country, as appeared in Alexander's march, withinland was good, but toward the shore, as it has been ascertained by modern navigators, a barren sand; not everywhere absolutely unproductive, nor wholly, as modern accounts show, denying habitation, but having much of the wilderness character. Along this coast the fleet having proceeded about twelve miles, a party was sent ashore for water; but, good anchorage being found, the crews passed the night aboard.

SECT. II.

Moving again at daybreak, the progress was of hardly twenty miles, when, night alreddy approaching, such a surf broke on the shore that it was thought advisable to lie at anchor again[8]. Uneasy in this situation, tho the weather was unpromising, the course was resumed at dawn. Such then was the supervening gale that two long ships, and one of the kind called kercurus, apparently a storeship, were lost; nigh enough, however, to land, for the crews to save themselves by swimming. Nevertheless the advance made was of twenty miles, but to reach only a desert shore, where still a surf deterred landing. About midnight therefore the fleet moved again, and after proceeding about twelve miles, found a place where landing was safe, and the vessels might ride at anchor safely near it. So the rowers now wanted rest that Nearchus here fortified a camp, for security against hostility apprehended from the Orites.

SECTION III.

Slowness of the Fleet's Progress. Supply to the Fleet from the Army. Inhabitants mentioned to have been seen: Passage along the Coast of the Fisheaters: Supply obtained by faithless Violence: Town deserted on the Fleet's approach: Entrance of the Persian Gulph: Arrival at Harmoza in Carmania.

SECT. III.

In about forty days, now, from Killuta, or from whatever port from the mouth of the Indus, the fleet took its departure for the ocean, the progress, according to Vincent's reckoning, on a careful

[8] I completely admit, and gratefully accept, Vincent's interpretation of Arrian's word ῥηχσίη or ῥηχία, as the surf. Confirmation of this interpretation will be noticed hereafter.

CHAP. LV.

comparison of modern accounts with antient, including the delay of twenty-four days at Alexander's haven, had been of only eighty miles. Had the change of the monsoon been waited for, the narrative itself, in its sequel, appears enough to show that, unless circumstances more than commonly unfortunate intervened, the voyage might have been completed in two, or at most three, days. In no calculation therefore that Alexander or his council could have reason to make, would it be necessary for the fleet to carry stores for the time actually employed; nor probably could such vessels, even including those provided for the purpose, as it has been alreddy observed, carry them for more than a fourth of the time. Hence arose Alexander's determination, at extreme hazard for himself and the army attending him, to march near the coast, instead of going the secure way by which he sent the larger division under Craterus; and thus his foresight and indefatigable diligence, stimulated by his anxiety for the success of his naval expedition, had provided that on this desert shore food should be found. Rambacia, the capital of the Orite country, had, according to Pliny, a seaport. It does not follow that Pliny supposed the town situated on the haven; as there has been frequent occasion to observe, that, with the Greeks, and it appears to have held equally with the Romans, the seaport of a town was any with which it could command reddy communication, either by water or land. Thus Peiræus was the port of Athens, Nauplia of Argos, Ostia of Rome; the latter, tho considerably most distant from its port, alone having a water-communication with it, and that only for very small vessels. Rambacia, as Arrian shows, not

SECT. III.

itself a seaport, was however not far from the coast. It seems probable that, among advantages of its situation, which recommended it to Alexander, may have been opportunity for water-carriage to its port. To superintend the civil government of Rambacia, it will be remembered, he had established a Grecian satrap, Apollophanes; and to insure the obedience of the people, and thence a friendly reception for his fleet, when it might pass, he had left a chosen military force, under one of his most approved generals, Leonnatus.

Nevertheless, after his departure with the main body of his army, the Orites, ingaging some neighboring people in their cause, revolted; and, in an insuing battle, the contest, as Diodorus seems, on good ground to have reported, was severe; for Apollophanes is stated by Arrian to have been killed in it. Leonnatus however gained a complete victory, with slaughter said to have been of six thousand of the Orites and their allies, among whom it is added were all their chiefs. Nor does this appear improbable; for it seems to have been eminently required, among the Asiatics, for the chief officers, especially in adverse fortune, if they would have those under them fight, to set the example of desperate valor; and indeed, under the misfortune of defeat, they appear to have been often in no less danger from their prince and their people than from the enemy. On the Macedonian side fifteen only of the cavalry are acknowleged to have been slain, with a few, unnumbered, of the infantry; and, considering what troops Leonnatus commanded against those whose irregular discipline would not probably be better than that of

Ar. exp. Al. l. 6. c. 27. Ind. c. 23.

CHAP. LV.

Asiatics at this day, and allowing for wounded, the account may not be very extravagant.

Through this important success Leonnatus was inabled to give the attention expected from him to the arrival of the fleet on the Orite coast, and to relieve its immediate needs. There seems indeed every probability, tho not acknowleged in the narrative, that it was a place appointed for the purpose. Nearchus, however, was not only soon freed from apprehension of an enemy, but supplied with corn sufficient to serve the armament ten days. Alexander's great means, and his ernestness for the welfare of his fleet, being considered together with the necessary construction of vessels to make way with oars, it seems probable that the supply was limited to that quantity only by the failure of stowage for more; means however being in view for furnishing a fresh supply before this should be exhausted. But important relief of another kind is acknowleged in the narrative. Under Alexander's munificent incouragement, and through his popularity, a sufficient number of men had been found willing to risk the future difficulties of the voyage, in relief of those alreddy disabled in body by its hardships, or indisposed in mind, for rewards in prospect, to bear a continuance of them. All such therefore were now dismissed from the sea-service, to follow Leonnatus by land. What his course afterward was we do not learn. Alexander was alreddy ingaged in the perils of the desert, whether to survive or perish among them none could tell. Possibly report of them, and probably exaggerated, might promote a disposition, among those arrived with Leonnatus, to exchange service with any desirous of relief from the experienced severities of

the sea-service at the hazard of uncertain troubles and dangers by land.

The shore, where Nearchus chose his principal station, seems to have forbidden the common practice of hauling the vessels on it, common whether for their greater safety or for giving the crews completer rest. Yet he found means to repair damages; possibly at what Pliny has called the haven of Rambacia, which might be little distant. During his stay however, the long-wished-for advantage of the change of the monsoon took place. The wind, hitherto, had blown constantly from the south-west, over the ocean, toward the land, often violent, and generally adverse to the fleet's course, and always increasing the surf on the shore. Now, after a short period of fluctuation, it became fixed toward the north-east. Blowing thus from the land, and never with violence, it stilled the surf, and generally favored the course; which was farther favored by a current, observed by modern navigators in that sea, setting constantly to the westward. Whether Nearchus was fully apprized of all these advantageous circumstances, may, as Vincent has remarked, be doubted, yet probably he was not without considerable information about them.

Vincent on Nearchus.

Toward the end of November the fleet proceeded again; and, with the improved state of the weather, and favor of wind and current, made, on the first day, a greater progress than on any former of the voyage; reaching at the distance of more than thirty miles the mouth of the river Tomerus. From the Indus thus far, tho the coast was mostly barren, so that modern navigators have observed little produced but brushwood, and here and there a few palm-trees, yet the inland country was fruitful and well inhabited. The Arabees, we have

Ibid. on Arr. Ind. c. 24.

CHAP. LV.

observed, were reckoned of Indian race: the Orites, tho of different origin and language, are described as of Indian manners; implying that they were a people considerably civilized, cultivating at least the more necessary of the arts of civil life. But westward of the Orite country was the great desert, where barrenness extended from the ocean hundreds of miles inland. Food, and raiment, and means for shelter, thus denied in the interior, were however still found on the coast, such as might maintain some unfortunate families, whom the failure of security elsewhere against human violence had driven thither. The coast abounded with fish; which was almost their only food: their dwellings were stifling huts[9], formed of the bones and skins of the larger fish; of which even whales are mentioned as then frequenting that coast. Their clothing, principally wanted for defence against the burning sunbeam, was of skins, either of beasts or fish. From their dependence on fish for food came the name, by which alone they are distinguished, as a nation, by either Greek or Latin writers, in the Greek language describing their diet, Fisheaters. In these circumstances, to become barbarians was unavoidable. They are represented, in the narrative of the voyage, equally as in the account of Alexander's march, like the wildest of those found in modern times on any shore of the Pacific ocean; and Vincent's diligent inquiry has led him to the conclusion, that the inhabitants of the same coast, at this day, in way of life and

[9] Καλύβαι σπηγγώδεις. 'Such are the cabins, described by 'Cook, in a thousand instances, into which you must enter 'crawling, and when entered, you cannot stand upright.' Vincent on Nearchus.

manners nearly the same, are in condition rather worse than those described by Nearchus when he passed it.

It is remarkable enough that tho apprehension of hostilities is more than once mentioned, yet of inhabitants seen, in any of the various places of landing, notice here first occurs. If in other parts of the coast the people had fled, here, less informed, or uninformed of the power of Grecian weapons and discipline, they were prepared to resist. The shore was lined with men armed with strong spears nine feet long. To regard any rights of such people, even to their lives, we have had much occasion to see, was little within Grecian rules, either of the law of nations, or of morality, or of philosophy. Nearchus, without any endevor to approach them in peace, made his fleet advance within bowshot; and then, having observed that the barbarians had no missile weapons, he judiciously formed his plan of attack. Selecting, among his light-armed, the best swimmers, he ordered them to swim toward the shore; and the foremost, as soon as they could reach ground, to stand in the water till the rest arrived, so that the whole might form regularly in three ranks. Meanwhile, from bows and engines in the vessels, he plied the barbarians with arrows and stones; so much to their astonishment as well as injury, that, when the swimmers approached, running and shouting, they presently fled. Many are said to have been killed in flight, and many taken, whence opportunity was gained for observing their persons. In the account of these, the hairiness of their bodies, and the length and strength of their nails, resembling tigers' claws, and doing the office, not only of butchers' but of carpenters' tools, perhaps may be

CHAP. LV.

somewhat exaggerated. Their weapons may have been truly represented as resembling those found, in modern voyages, among ilanders secluded from the civilized world, of wood only, with the point hardened by fire.

Arr. Ind. c. 25.

This shore of hostile savages Nearchus chose for a stay of five days; the narrative says, to repair damaged vessels, tho of recent storms, or other cause of injury, no mention is made. But information concerning a more interesting matter also wholly fails: it is not said what was the fate of the numerous prisoners. The ordinary object of the Greeks in making prisoners was profit in the slave-market. If the wretches here taken were to be conveyed to a slave-market it must have been in miserable plight.

Arr. Ind. c. 26.

The fleet moving then in the second watch of the night, its course was of near forty miles, to a convenient haven, where was a village, named Pasira, and its people, Pasirees. The stay there was only for the night's rest, and no mention is made of communication with the people. On the next day a lofty precipitous promontory, with a surf on the shore, made difficulty for the commanders, and labor for the rowers. The following night, on account of the surf, was passed at anchor. Men were however sent ashore for water; and, by digging in the sand a sufficiency was obtained, but all brackish. On the succeeding day the fleet advanced little more than twelve miles; but, moving again at dawn, a progress of near forty had been alreddy made, when a village seen on the shore, with date-trees about it, seems to have been as a signal for landing.

At this village, named Carnina, another and an important novelty occurs in the narrative. Thus

SECT. III.

far communication with the natives of the coast is mentioned only on occasion of the bloodshed of a few days before; here, first, hospitality is acknowleged; the people furnished not only fish but sheep. These, the land bearing no grass, are stated to have been fed on fish; whence their flesh was fishy, such is the expression, like that of sea-birds. Arrian, as if unwilling himself to answer for this, has particularly mentioned that it was so affirmed by Nearchus. Vincent, always diligent in inquiry, has found modern writers asserting that, in some parts of Africa, fish have been found a food not incapable of supporting cattle. Yet, as in Arrian's account of Alexander's march, it is mentioned that, among other provisions, sheep were forwarded to the coast for the fleet, it may seem the more reasonable conclusion, that the sheep, furnished by the fisheaters of Carnina, were not bred among them, but, however unacknowleged in the narrative, had been sent by Alexander from the country northward.

Vinc. on Nearch. p. 231. n. 135.

Ch. 54. s. 3. of this Hist.

Tho at that unnamed village, where many of the natives were killed in battle, and many made prisoners, the fleet stayed five days, yet at this place, where such accommodation was found, the stay was only of one night. The next progress then was but of thirteen or fourteen miles, when temptation to land again occurred. Fishing-boats were seen on the shore, and a village not more than two miles from it. The corn, furnished by Leonnatus, was now all consumed. So it is here observed in the narrative, without any notice of the several supplies asserted, in the account of the march, to have been afterward sent for the fleet. But the country, near the coast, had begun a little to improve, and hope was entertained that some

CHAP. LV.

corn might be found. The inhabitants however, whether in reasonable fear, or otherwise, had all fled, and no corn was discovered. Some goats, left wandering, being caught, made a meal for the night, and next morning the fleet proceeded.

A lofty promontory, supposed that called, by our navigators, Posmee, was then turned; and, after a progress of about twenty miles, the fleet entered a commodious haven, where was a village of fishermen, called Mosarna. No communication with inhabitants, even here, is acknowleged in the narrative; yet, by the mention of an important incident assurance is afforded that there must have been communication with them, and great probability that the fleet was expected, and friendship prepared for it. A practised mariner, a native of the inland Gadrosia, was found at this village, who undertook, as a pilot, to conduct the fleet the remaining length of the coast to the Persian gulph. Thus it appears evident that the Mosarnians, tho of the race of fisheaters, were not, by the circumstances of their country, so excluded from communication with the fruitful Gadrosia as those of the coast eastward. The indication indeed is strong that here was a port, by which the fruitful Gadrosia commonly communicated with the sea; and that commerce was carried on along the coast westward, tho eastward only by land. In return for what Gadrosia wanted, the nard and myrrh of the Desert, the fame of which appears to have induced Phenician traders to hazard all the miseries and dangers of the march of the army, may have been valuable articles for export here. A concurrence of indications moreover seems to furnish nearly assurance that Mosarna and its commerce were known by report to Alexander in India, and that the informa-

Ch. 54. s. 3. of this History.

tion obtained concerning them, afforded both instigation and incouragement to direct the voyage and undertake the march. SECT. III.

A pilot being acquired, Nearchus, henceforward, for less fatigue to his rowers, used the night mostly for progress; which before, while none aboard had any knowlege of the coast, could seldom be prudently ventured. The wind also now favored, and thus the first run from Mosarna to a resting-place was of near fifty miles. In the next, the improved character of the country, within view, tempted to put ashore at little more than half that distance. About a village numerous palm-trees were observed. On landing a garden was found, where flowering plants were numerous; and the narrative distinguishes the myrtle as florishing. Chaplets of herbs and flowers, originally used, in sultry climates, perhaps not more for ornament than relief, were a favorite luxury of the Greeks at their feasts; and the gratification of the crews, in finding here the myrtle for the purpose, is mentioned as if it were that of meeting a friend long unseen. Here moreover, first, in the course of the voyage, cultivated fruit-trees were found; and, the narrator adds, men not wholly savage. He has also given the name of the place, Barna; but what communication was had with the inhabitants, or whether any, is not said. The heat of the day only seems to have been passed there.

Whether then revenge from the assembled natives was apprehended, or what else occasioned so hasty a departure from a place, in description, more than any before, inviting to stay, the fleet proceeded to a station where the crews were exposed to the inconvenience of resting aboard: still whether fearing the inhabitants of the coast, or for what

CHAP. LV.

other cause, is not said. Moving however again about midnight, and advancing near twenty-five miles, a secure haven was found. But here again the inhabitants are described as of uncultivated character: their employment fishing, their vessels meer canoos, rowed, not with oars, but, what seems to have been new to the Greeks, with paddles; so that to describe their action in rowing, it is said to have resembled that of men digging the ground. No communication with the people thus seen is mentioned; nor any refreshment obtained, but from abundance of good water; which, as it had so often failed in the course of the voyage, might be a valuable relief.

Under the Gadrosian pilot's direction the fleet proceeded again by night, and the course was continued to the next evening; when, after a progress of about sixty miles, a tremendous surf was found breaking on the shore. Anchors therefore were cast, and supper was taken aboard. That such a circumstance was thought worthy of notice in the narrative, shows the character of navigation, in this voyage, to have been the same as we have seen it commonly for vessels of war in the days of Thucydides and Xenophon, when the crews of fleets, tho hastening to an object, were landed even twice in a day for meals. It may farther deserve observation here, that the provision which supplied strength for so long a run, and afforded the supper, must have been acquired in some way not acknowleged in the narrative.

Ch. 19. s. 8. & ch. 26. s. 8. of this History.

After refreshment however thus taken, and insuing repose, the fleet had proceeded about thirty miles, when an object, not probably before seen in the voyage, ingaged attention: a fortified town, small indeed, but situated on a hill advantageously

for defence. On nearer approach stubble was seen in the fields around, whence it was conjectured that corn would be in store in the place. Thus the cupidity of the commander, according to his own account, and probably also that of the crews, difficult for the commander wholly to restrain, was excited. He thought, however, he says, that, in a country producing corn so scantily, the people would not willingly part with their store. His numbers, he supposed, with Grecian arms and Grecian skill, might, by open force compel surrender, but not without inconvenient delay. He therefore resolved upon fraud; and this he has not only avowed but boasted of; for to his fellow-countrymen of his age in general, tho the florishing age of Grecian philosophy, it appears too evident he might avow it without fear of reproach. Imputation therefore perhaps should rest less upon the individual than upon the morality of the age altogether; which too clearly little fostered the nobler sentiment of Agesilaus; who, according to Xenophon, reckoned that, in war, to deceive those who refuse you their confidence is fair, but those who trust you infamous. For war with this people, however, Nearchus had not a pretence; unless universal hostility for Greeks against barbarians were allowable. It was with the avowed purpose of deceiving and robbing those who trusted him, that Nearchus directed the course of his fleet along the coast, as if to pass the place, while he landed himself with a small party from a single vessel.

The people, who hitherto, from within their walls, probably not without apprehension, had been observing all, seeing only six men approach, went out, and, with reddy hospitality, presented, in baskets, some tunny-fish dressed, some cakes, which

CHAP. LV.

seem to have been partly of meal, and some dates. Nearchus, affecting to receive the gift graciously, told them by an interpreter, one of his attendants, that he was desirous of seeing their town; and they, without suspicion, assented. He must then have managed very artfully to amuse the principal townsmen, so as to be inabled to abuse their confidence in the manner which he has proceeded to relate. His plan, decided before he left his ship, had been communicated to Archias, whom it appears he principally trusted in command under him. On a signal agreed on, Archias put the fleet about, landed all that could be spared from care of the vessels at anchor, and hastened toward the town. The people, seeing such an armed body approaching, ran for their weapons. Nearchus, on entering the town, had left two of his escort at the gate, probably very narrow, such as are seen now in many old towns of the continent, not proposed to admit carriages. No guard of the townsmen however appears to have been there. With the other two, who were bowmen, he and his interpreter mounted the town-wall. The people assembling underneath, the interpreter ingaged their attention by a proclamation, which he concluded with telling them that 'if they would save their town and themselves they must furnish grain for the armament.' Answer was made that there was no grain in the place. Presently then numbers were preparing to attack the intruders in their lofty station. But, tho more civilized than those before met in arms, they were still of the fisheater nation, and seem, like the others, to have been without missile weapons. Some bowshots therefore from the two who attended Nearchus, perhaps surprizing, sufficed to check them. The two at the gate meanwhile, probably

in full armor, held possession of it. The whole force from the fleet then being soon near, the people, in complete consternation, declared their readiness to give all their grain, if they might otherwise be spared. Nearchus, upon this, directed Archias to take possession of the gates and the wall with sufficient numbers, while the rest were employed in seeing to the surrender of grain, wherever to be discovered. Great store of a kind of meal prepared from fire-dried fish was found, but of grain little. Without any notice of millet, or any other seeds commonly used for food in the hot climates, wheat and barley are mentioned; the barley no doubt of the round-eared kind, which we distinguish by the names of big, or bear, the ordinary barley of the south of Europe; where summer-heat denies the growth of the flat-eared sort, which we in preference cultivate.

The people here were so far civilized as to dress their fish: all formerly met with, according to the narrative, ate it raw. On fish was their principal dependence for food; bread was considered only as a sauce for their fish; a desirable delicacy, but not a necessary. Nevertheless the corn, which Nearchus took, was what he supposed would serve his people till they might reach a more fruitful country. Payment seems to have been no more in his contemplation, than in that of any of the predatory highlanders whom Alexander in his course had chastized, or our borderers of Scotland and Wales, or the Miquelets on the verge of France and Spain, when they stole their neighbors' cattle; nor is there any other evidence than the author's silence, that the loss of corn was the only injury suffered. The name of the place, thus made remarkable, is not given; and this failure is cer-

CHAP. LV.

tainly among those, in the narrative, of a kind to excite suspicion.

The fleet staid here no longer than to complete its commander's project of fraud: its course appears to have been resumed in the afternoon of the same day, tho to reach no advantageous situation for the night. In the evening it anchored off the headland named Bageia, the western point, according to Vincent, of that now called Gutter Bay. About midnight it moved again; and, wind no doubt favoring, the run was continued to the extent of sixty miles. A good harbor, was then found, called Talmona; good, apparently, as affording convenience for the crews to rest ashore.

A progress afterward of twenty-five miles brought the fleet to a town named Canasida. If, as seems likely, Nearchus expected corn here, he was disappointed. A well is mentioned to have been found, artificially formed. Whether this might indicate advancement in civil arts among the people, beyond that of those eastward, or whether it was one of the numerous wells, mentioned in the account of the army's march, to have been provided for the fleet by Alexander's care, seems utterly uncertain; no result of that care appearing to have been acknowleged by Nearchus, with a single exception for the relief he received from Leonnatus. The town however was found deserted; for what cause is not said, and the heads of palm-trees were the only food obtained. Distress therefore urging, the fleet proceeded through the afternoon and all the following night, and still, at daybreak, was on a desert shore. Rest however being then necessary, anchors were dropped. Here Nearchus has avowed that he feared to let the crews quit their vessels; such being the dissatisfaction among them, that, rather than return

aboard, he apprehended they might endevor to join the army by land. Among the many very remarkable omissions in the narrative, the failure to acknowlege any information obtained of what must have so excited the attention of every inhabitant of the coast as Alexander's march along it, and according to Vincent's probable supposition, through Canasida[10], is not the least striking. As soon as, turning inland, he had reached a fruitful country, not there so distant from the sea as farther eastward, he had hastened, it will be remembered, unsparing of his own labor, to collect and forward provisions, under escorts commanded by confidential officers, to two different parts of the coast, to await the fleet's passing. However then acknowlegement may have failed in Arrian's narrative from Nearchus, yet on comparing with it what he has given from Ptolemy and Aristobulus, it seems utterly improbable that the commanders of the fleet, even should they have missed the supplies, were without intelligence of the army: the admiral, we have recently seen, had an interpreter, whom he esteemed worthy of confidence; and it is unlikely that such intelligence could be wholly concealed from the crews. Thus neither the project imputed to the seamen will appear so extravagant, nor the fears of the admiral so without reasonable ground, as the narrative of the voyage, unassisted by that of the march, leaves them to be supposed.

SECT. III.

Ch.54.s.3. of this History.

But, among indications here, as sometimes before, produced by the narrator's care to earn credit for accuracy in whatever related to the seaman's business, it is shown that not only information, but supplies, unowned, must have been

[10] Vincent's map carries the march through Canasida.

CHAP. LV.

received. Here first the crews are said to have been starving, and this after great fatigue; yet they were able to persevere in a run of near fifty miles, to a place called Canatë. There artificial watercourses were found, clearly indicating population and cultivation; yet neither supply is acknowleged to have been obtained, nor people seen. Nevertheless the strength of the crews did not fail; for, after no unusual time stated to have been allowed for repose, the progress was again of fifty miles. It seems to have been through this speed that the inhabitants of some small villages, of a district on the coast not wholly unproductive, called Troisi, were so far taken by surprize that, tho all fled, they left behind them not only some corn and dates, which were seized, but also seven camels. The flesh of that animal is said to be neither an unwholesome nor an ungrateful food. Accordingly all were devoured. The prize would be valuable for the fleet, if, against Alexander's intention, food could be had for it only by violence; but the loss of seven camels must have been severe upon villagers on such a coast.

The crews, thus however recruited, were allowed only short rest, the fleet moving again at daybreak. At the distance of about twenty miles it reached Dagasira, a place frequented by herdmen; sure indication that, tho still within the line of coast called that of the fisheaters, the change toward a more productive country was alreddy considerable. But herdmen could reddily move their all beyond the reach of rapacious hands, whose approach by sea might be seen afar. Accordingly nothing valuable appears to have been found there.

After rest therefore during the midday heat only, progress was resumed toward evening, and prose-

SECT. III.

cuted through the night and all the following day. The wind apparently favored, so that, for a course of near a hundred and fifty miles, the labor would not be severe. With this fortunate speed the boundary of that called the fisheaters' coast was passed, and hope was entertained of immediately finding the relief which accounts of the adjoining country, Carmania, promised. The surf however being such as to deter landing, the repose, now necessary for the crews, was only such as they could take in the vessels at anchor. Arr. Ind. c. 29.

The general direction of the shore of the ocean from the mouth of the Indus, or near it, thus far, modern observation confirming the account of Nearchus, is remarkably direct, east and west, with only occasional indentures and projections of bays and promontories, small in proportion to the length of line of above six hundred miles. Hereabout, still coinciding with modern observation, Nearchus says the course, guided still by the coast, was turned to the north-west. Soon then the fleet reached Badis, a cultivated district of Carmania, producing corn and good wine, and all the ordinary fruits of Greece abundantly, except olives. And yet no mention is made of supply obtained, or of any inhabitants seen, in this plentiful district of a province, not only for years past governed by Alexander's officers, but in which he had himself been now some weeks, with his army. Arr. Ind. c. 32. Vin. on Nearch. p. 300.

Important assistance of another kind, acquired on this part of the coast, and probably at Badis, is however indicated. The Gadrosian pilot had undertaken no more than to conduct the fleet to the Persian gulph. Now other persons were aboard, more extensively acquainted with land and sea in those parts. After a run of fifty miles

CHAP. LV.

from Badis, for which refreshment obtained there must have prepared the crews, a lofty promontory came in view, afar off; which, says the narrative, persons familiar with those parts declared to be a projection from the Arabian shore, marking the entrance of the gulph, and eminent for the trade which supplied the great cities of Assyria with perfumes and spices. Cinnamon alone is distinguished by name; probably furnished from southern Arabia, till, through Alexander's measures, the way was opened for the Arabian traders to the coast of Malabar, and thence to the iland of Ceylon, which produces that ever since the most in estimation. The name of the promontory, with Arrian, Maketa, with Strabo, Makai, is now, with our navigators, Mussendon.

Vin. on Nearch.

Here difference of opinion arose, among the principal officers, concerning the course to be pursued. On the Carmanian side the shore receded, so as to form a bay, near thirty miles deep, and sixty wide, with a barren coast, as far as eye could reach, and a surf breaking on it. Onesicritus, since the fleet's outset, now first mentioned in the narrative, recommended avoiding the circuitous line of the bay, with so forbidding a shore, to stretch away immediately to the promontory on the Arabian side; the distance being estimated not to exceed an ordinary day's run with oars. Nearchus opposed this. In rather offensive phrase, according to his own account, he told Onesicritus 'that he was foolish[11] indeed, or strangely inat-'tentive to the king's instructions, if he did not 'know that they required the examination of all

[11] Νήπιον. The exact value of such phrases can be estimated only by those practised in the conversation of the day, and rarely can be given in another language.

'shores, havens, ilands, bays, maritime towns, 'with observation where the land was fruitful, and 'where barren. Alreddy the principal dangers 'and labors of the expedition were surmounted, 'and no serious difficulty remained in view, if 'they proceeded in the course hitherto pursued; 'but, what might be beyond that promontory on 'the Arabian shore, he feared more than any on 'the Carmanian.' This opinion, we are told, prevailed; a phrase appearing to mark that the authority of Nearchus was not perfectly independent of collegues or council. Accordingly the fleet, resting that night at anchor, proceeded on the morrow along the Carmanian shore, about thirty miles, to a place described only by its name, Neoptana; and, moving again at daybreak, by a course of no more than six miles, reached Harmoza or Harmozeia[12], on the river Anamis, a principal port of Carmania. There an officer of considerable rank under Alexander commanded, friendship was reddy, and, as in a very plentiful country, every necessary abounded.

SECT. III.

Arr. Ind. c. 33.

[12] The name of Harmoza remains to this day, tho, among the revolutions to which the finest parts of Asia have been singularly liable, transferred to another place. The people, on occasion of which of three conquests of their country, which were suffered between the beginning of the thirteenth and the end of the fifteenth centuries, is uncertain, to avoid the dominion of a conquering despot from the interior of the continent, migrated to a small iland, not far from the mouth of the Anamis, completely of the wilderness character. Affording nothing but safety against hostile attack, not even water, but what fell from the sky, yet Ormuz, as we write it after the Portuguese, like Venice and Amalfi in Europe, in nearly similar circumstances, florished from commerce, eminent among the marts of the east. Even under the Portuguese it florished; but, an English fleet, in war with Portugal, inabling another conqueror from the interior of Asia to become its master, its prosperity soon ended.

SECTION IV.

Occurrences at Harmoza: Journey of Nearchus to wait upon the King: Return to Harmoza.

CHAP. LV.

THE merit which the learned Vincent was the first, probably, to discover, but certainly to ascertain to the world, in the narrative of Nearchus, has led that worthy person to an esteem of the author's character, surely much beyond what any, more versed among men, can be disposed to allow. His praise, that it deserves all credit, cannot be admitted (supposing, as Vincent has supposed, that Arrian has given justly the meaning if not even the words of his author) without exception for what Nearchus related of himself. The account of his conference with Alexander, previous to his appointment to the chief command for the voyage of discovery, reviling the principal officers of the army, and representing himself as the king's dearest friend, for whose welfare he was even absurdly solicitous, has evidently been calculated only for the most uninformed of the soverein multitudes in the Grecian republics, among whom, as well as for whom, it was published, not till after Alexander's death. For the transactions of his extraordinary voyage indeed, the narrative is generally perspicuous, always probable, corresponding, beyond what might be expected, with modern observation in its geography, the sure test of its authenticity, and failing only by omission of matters of which some account most reasonably might be expected. But now, when account is to be given, no longer of the navigation, but of the narrator's conduct ashore, among a civilized and friendly people, and in communication with his

king, it becomes in some parts mysterious, in others strangely extravagant. SECT. IV.

Alreddy the fleet had coasted for many leagues a province, not only for some years commanded by Alexander's officers, but in which he actually was with his army. On that coast, in the fruitful territory of Badis, abundant supplies were found: of course there had been communication with the people; and now a seaport was reached, apparently the principal of the province, where all was friendly, and where the governor of a considerable district resided. Nevertheless, tho Alexander's unremitted anxiety and even painful activity to afford all assistance to his fleet is, in the narrative, as in all other accounts, largely testified, yet, in the same narrative, it has not been scrupled to assert that, at this friendly port, Nearchus could obtain no news of his king, or information where any one in authority under him was to be found. Some men from the fleet, wandering, it says, as those long confined ashipboard are fond of doing, to their surprize, not less than to their joy, met a Greek from the army; who informed them where the king and the army were, and reddily conducted Nearchus to the prefect of the district. It is implied that the admiral was anxious to wait upon the king the soonest that might be, and it is clearly expressed that he obtained all necessary information from the prefect for making the journey, reckoned, at the utmost, of five days for a party afoot. Nevertheless he neither immediately went, nor sent any intelligence of himself or the fleet. His first business, after hauling his vessels ashore, was to fortify his naval camp, as if in an enemy's country, and with more than common care and labor; for he surrounded it with a double rampart, and a ditch

CHAP. LV.

deep enough to be floated from the river. As a reason for such a work, it is stated that, his instructions directing him to survey the Persian gulph and meet the king at Susa, he reckoned the whole of the fleet needless for that continuance of the voyage, and therefore he would leave a part at Harmoza. Thus he seems to have assumed to himself to decide on a matter for which, if nothing else pressed for communication with his king, he should have hastened to desire orders. But the prefect, his duty requiring that the king should have the earliest information of the fleet's arrival at a port of his district, whether dissatisfied with the admiral's conduct, or having other cause, instead of sending, went to make the report himself. This displeased Nearchus, who has not scrupled to represent it as an interested interference with business which, clearly with the purpose to impose only on those most ignorant of what would become persons in their situations, he intimates should have been left intirely to him.

Arr. Ind. c. 34.

The place of Alexander's residence in Carmania, probably the capital, had been made remarkable, as we have seen, by transactions there; and is among those also remarkable for being, in the narrative, without a name. This however Diodorus has supplied, writing it, as we perhaps best, with Vincent, may render the Greek orthography, Salmoon; which, the first syllable being said to mean a fort, seems preserved in the modern Maaun[15]. That place is less distant from the port where the fleet lay than may seem implied in the narrative; in which, however, confusion, rather

Ch. 54. s. 3. of this History.

Diod. l. 17. c. 106.

Vin. on Nearchus.

[15] In the Greek it occurs only in the dative Σαλμοῦντι.

SECT. IV.

than clearness, appears to have been, on this occasion, studied. The tale that follows is indeed extraordinary, and even absurd; and yet may deserve notice as a sample of what might be offered for belief among the Grecian republics. Alexander's impatience at the failure of Nearchus to arrive, as expected, is described as unfit for a man, and his measures to acquire information as ineffectual as could be those of a child: he sent messenger, it is said, after messenger, to various parts of the coast to acquire intelligence, and none brought any. Were this related as happening before the fleet reached the Carmanian shore, it might appear not only credible but likely. The narrative however goes much farther; some of the messengers, it says, never returned. For such failure no cause is mentioned; and how it should have happened, unless Nearchus himself managed to detain them, seems not easily imaginable. The king's impatience, however, the narrative proceeds to say, at length became so extravagant, that, supposing the prefect's hasty intelligence of the fleet's arrival deceptive, he ordered him to prison. Nevertheless he sent horses and carriages to conduct Nearchus; and these so took the right road (by what information or what good fortune guided, is not said) that they met him, already on the way. If it was to convey him prisoner to Salmoon, even from his own account, he seems to have deserved it. Nor indeed is the suspicion that so it was, without some apparent ground. For, after having been at the friendly port of Harmoza several days (Vincent reckons only three, but the narrative, describing the works at that place, and the going and return of the king's many messengers, implies considerably more) Nearchus set

Vin. on Nearch. p. 348.

CHAP. LV.

out, taking Archias only for his companion, and four inferior attendants; tho on account of the lawless state of the country, if what follows in the narrative should be credited, prudence would have recommended a stronger escort, had he shown himself in his proper character of commander-in-chief of the imperial fleet. But he chose (for after such delay at a friendly and plentiful seaport it must have been choice) that all should go in the same soiled clothes, soaked with brine, and with the same weatherbeaten and toilworn looks as when they landed; in his description altogether miserable. Such, it may be observed, among the Greeks, was the kind of appearance ordinarily affected by those, who, in the character of suppliants, desired to excite commiseration. The escort sent by the king, on meeting them, not guessing who they were, would have passed them unnoticed. But they could not fail to know of what description those of the escort were; and yet they hesitated to declare themselves. At length, however, resolving to inquire where they might find the king, and explanation insuing, they were taken into the carriages, and conducted to the place of his residence.

Arrived there they presently waited upon him, still in the same soiled clothes in which they had set out from Harmoza, and altogether with the same appearance, studiously described as wretched. Alexander, like the escort they had met on the road, hardly knew them; but as soon as he had assured himself he took Nearchus, the narrative says, by the hand, and led him to a private apartment. Still supposing his fleet lost (for still the prefect's account had no credit with him) he was

so overborne with joy at seeing Nearchus and Archias safe, that, for a long time, tears prevented speech. Being then informed by them that the fleet also was safe, tears of joy flowed afresh, and he swore by the Jupiter of the Greeks, and the Ammon of the Libyans, that he was more gratified with that information than with the conquest of all Asia. The prefect of Harmoza was yet under arrest. Finding opportunity however to prostrate himself before Nearchus, and obtaining his intercession with the king, he was at length released. Alexander then solemnized a sacrifice to Jupiter the preserver, and Apollo the evil-averter, and Neptune, and (such is the expression in the original) whatever other seagods might be; Nearchus leading the procession, and the whole army throwing on him flowers, and garlands. Gymnic games and theätrical exhibitions concluded the celebrity. Arr. Ind. c. 36.

After this boast of honors to himself, and imputation of imbecility to his soverein, follows the remarkable confession, that Alexander proposed to remove him from the command of the fleet. To disguise this disgrace the same extravagance has been resorted to, which was not scrupled to color Alexander's hesitation ever to commit to him the command in chief; the king, he says, assured him it was because he could no longer expose so dear a friend to such labors and dangers. This assertion, that a prince of such great views, and so unsparing of himself, would, in weak tenderness for any man, deny a difficult but honorable command to him whom he thought fittest for it, and who also desired it, is evidently enough what could be proposed for belief only to the most uninformed of the people who shared soverein power among the Greek republics. The narrator's pre-

CHAP. LV.

tension, twice stated, that he was himself the object of such regard, and that Alexander was the man so to yield to it, seems indeed too ludicrous, and the publication of it too impudent, to admit comment in terms becoming the sobriety of history[14].

What Nearchus has proceeded to relate we find satisfactorily confirmed by other testimony: on his ernest solicitation that he might not be deprived of the credit of completing a great undertaking, the larger, and far the more difficult part of which he had alreddy successfully executed, Alexander finally yielded to his request.

In returning then to Harmoza, he was allowed a military escort, sufficient, he says, for a country in peace. Thus he could not avoid showing himself in his proper character of commander of the fleet. In this character, and so attended, he was attacked on the road, twice or thrice, by different parties of the country people, insomuch, that with difficulty he made his way. But, in these attacks, of number so doubtfully stated, it is not said that there was slaughter, or even wound on either side; nor are the assailants described as of a predatory hord, but simply as people of the country, where the satrap, Tlepolemus, recently appointed, had not had time to establish proper order. The late satrap, Sibyrtius, however it should be remembered, had been removed to a more extensive and critical command in Gadrosia, not surely for having failed to keep order in his former province. Nor

[14] It were tedious to notice all the absurdities in the account given from Nearchus by Arrian. The reader curious about them, and they are indeed matter of some curiosity, will be best referred to the original; or, if a translation be wanted, not to what Vincent has given, in tenderness to Nearchus omitting some things and softening others, but rather to Rooke's, which is not indeed elegant, but much more exact.

SECT. IV.

are the Carmanians anywhere described as among the predatory hords of Asia; not even in an account of those hords by Nearchus himself, preserved to us by Strabo. Whether then the tumults mentioned were more than those of an unarmed multitude demanding reparation for plunder, or other injury, such as, on several parts of the coast it is acknowleged the people suffered from the fleet, seems left uncertain.

Strab.l.16. p. 745. ed. Cas.

Tho supposition should not, without much caution, nor indeed without a degree of necessity, be mixed with history, yet, if important facts are found involved in mystery, and eminent characters implicated; especially if there is any appearance of studied disguise or concealment; and most especially if it is moreover clear that the narrator's interest has been deeply concerned, it must be the historian's hazardous duty to offer, as he best may, what may tend to show the matter in a just light.

From earliest history then, even to the present day, Piracy, we know, has been familiar and florishing in the Ægean sea; ordinarily patronized by soverein power, by republics not less than by single tyrants, and suppressed, in the course of so many centuries, if completely ever, only in short periods of uncommon vigilance and vigor in the administration of the Roman dominion. In this eminent kind of highway robbery we have formerly observed the admirals of the Athenian democracy, in the zenith of its power, holding an imperial lead. When their means were checked by the successes of Philip king of Macedonia against them, the Cretans rose to the first eminence in the same line; favored by the situation of their iland, and by the failure of opportunity

Strab.l.10. p. 477. ed. Cas.

Strab. Ib.

CHAP. LV.

to controll them, when the Macedonian kingdom became again implicated in war with some of the republics. The increased traffic which Alexander's conquests afterward opened, for Greece and countries westward, with Phenicia and Egypt, and the advantage of situation for intercepting it, inabled the Cilician robbers to overbear the Cretan, and hold the superiority; till, under the new power of the Roman republic, the evil was, perhaps for the first time, effectually stopped by the great Pompey.

Piracy thus, in its various practices, seizing ships, landing for plunder (of which men, women, and children for the slave-markets were no small object) or, like the states of Barbary in modern days, arrogating payment for forbearance, would be familiar, at least from information and in ideä, not to the commanders only, Nearchus, a Cretan, and Onesicritus, of the iland of Cos, in situation between Crete and Cilicia, but to every seaman of the fleet; and what was little scrupled by the Greeks toward oneanother, we have had enough occasion to observe, would be less so toward Indians. Alexander's determination to protect his new subjects was sufficiently known. His promises of reward to all ingaged on his favorite project of maritime discovery no doubt would be highly liberal; and probably would be trusted, as far as performance might depend on himself. Nevertheless the restraint which he put upon all under him in favor of barbarians, far beyond that of the Athenian republic in favor of Greeks, might, in the natural partiality of men for their own interest, be considered as a grievance; and that the desire to plunder the Indians, whose wealth, in Vincent's supposition, the result of his careful inquiries, even exceeded

that of modern times, was very extensive in the fleet, will hardly be doubted. But moreover it could not fail to occur that, should all success attend them in their voyage, yet Alexander might perish; whether from the severity of the torrid climate, to which he was exposing himself, or from the hand of an enemy, from which recently he had so nearly met his fate; and then reward for them would be utterly precarious. If then the uncertainty of their king's life, with the consequent uncertainty of either reward for merit, or punishment for misdemeanor, together with the consideration that, even if he survived, naval command put choice both of measures and course much in their power, such temptation prevailed, no difficulty will remain for what appears otherwise unaccountable in Nearchus's narrative. The departure from Pattala, in most adverse season and against orders, might be even necessary for the purpose: the omission of all account of the voyage of not less than a hundred miles down the river, to some unnamed place near the ocean, will be no longer strange: the enmity of the Indians (reported by Strabo, but unnoticed in the narrative) which is said to have compelled the departure from some place unnamed; the shortness of the first advances of the fleet, in its way from that unnamed place, would also be accounted for; as would also the failure to notice any intercourse with the inhabitants of three named places of the river-side country, at which the fleet stopped, and which circumstances noticed indicate to have been populous and wealthy. The following measures, quitting all the shelter which the river would afford, to meet the adverse monsoon in the ocean; preferring, for a day of repose there, which seems to have been immediately necessary, an iland of sand to

CHAP. LV.

the shore of the nearly adjacent continent; and, presently after, through inability to contend with the violence of contrary winds, waiting near a month in such a situation as he has described that which he named Alexander's haven, and the care to fortify the naval camp there, would all be necessary consequences. The perfect acquiescence of the crews, under all hardships, difficulties, and dangers, thus, against their king's orders, undergone, which tho implied in the narrative only by the failure of mention of discontent, has excited Vincent's admiration, would be the reddy and even necessary consequence of their voluntary concurrence in a scheme of forbidden plunder. Along the fisheaters' coast nothing hostile is mentioned by the generals, in their account of the march. Whether then the hostility, found by the admiral, originated with the people of the country or with himself, remains matter of question. If wells, which Alexander had been diligent to provide in other parts, were rarely seen there, it may have been because the water obtained by digging in sand, near the sea-shore, is found to become more brackish as it lies longer exposed. But, of the stores of food which, according to the account of the generals, were sent, that none should have been received, or even heard of by the fleet, tho notice of them in the narrative wholly fails, is obviously unlikely; and that no information of Alexander's march along the coast should have been received, tho none is acknowleged, appears utterly incredible. The pretension then, stated in direct terms, that, even at the ports of Carmania, no intelligence of Alexander was to be obtained, till some of the crews, wandering about Harmoza, accidentally met a Greek from the army, also wan-

dering, carries the face of falsehood strongly enough to warrant the supposition of any probability to supersede it. Nevertheless, tho information could hardly have failed that Alexander and the army had some time ago entered Carmania, it might be unknown that he remained there, and had not yet proceeded for Persia. But if, at Badis, intelligence, as seems likely, was obtained that the king was still at Salmoon, and especially if information of the execution of the generals, Heracon, Cleander, and Sitalces, had reached the place, then anxiety to avoid him might pervade the fleet; and reason would be obvious for the advice which is attributed by Nearchus to Onesicritus, to avoid the Carmanian shore, and proceed directly up the gulph on the Arabian side; tho to judge fairly between them the lost account of Onesicritus is wanting. Yet, still on the same supposition, the praise of both judgement and courage may be due to Nearchus, who did not despair of making his peace with the king. To the hope of this indeed he may have been incouraged by the consideration of more than one important difference between his case and that of the generals who had suffered: their oppression of the conquered people seems to have been for profit only to themselves, or in share with a very few; for the troops under them, we are assured, supported the accusation against them; but Nearchus, more politic, seems to have managed so as to have the whole fleet on his side. All then having a common interest with him in preserving plunder, in which all shared, the laborious work of fortifying the naval station at Harmoza, for its protection even against Alexander himself, might be cheerfully undertaken. Flight would thus be in their power, if final resistance were not; and Alex-

SECT. IV.

CHAP. LV.

writes it, with the Greek termination, Persis, the general description of the coast, he says, in Arrian's narrative is perfect, and the principal harbors as fully ascertained as in modern geography.

B.C. 326. Ol. 113. 2.

According to his careful reckoning it was about the first of January, of the three hundred and twenty-fifth year before the Christian era, that

Arr. Ind. c. 37.

the fleet departed from Harmoza. The first day's course was of less than twenty miles[15], to a large iland, fruitful then, as now, in corn, wine and dates, which seems to have retained its name, written, by modern Europeäns, Vroct, but by the Greeks, according to their common practice of adapting forein names to their own habits of pronuntiation and the inflexions of their language, variously, Oaracta, Doracta, and Ouoracta, or, as we should perhaps rather write it, Woracta. Among Europeän navigators of the present day the name of the principal town, Last, has prevailed as that of the iland; precisely as, in the Mediterranean, the iland of Crete is most known by the name of its principal town Candia. Not only all ordinary accommodation was found here, but the governor, Mazenes, a Persian, offered himself to accompany Nearchus, and assist with his advice for the whole course up the gulph, and the inland navigation afterward, to Susa; an offer which Nearchus accepted. Some explanation which the narrative ought to give and does not, is clearly wanting here. For a person intrusted with the government of a large and fruitful iland, critically situated in the way of all the commerce between the coast of Arabia and the three capitals of the empire, to

[15] For this measure, which seems sufficiently ascertained by modern observation, and its difference from that stated in our copies of Arrian, Vincent's observations may be seen.

quit his important duties there in pure friendship to an utter stranger, and simply as an adviser for the navigation, would be carrying hospitality to a very extraordinary length. In the Indus such an offer might perhaps have been made, with a view to share in plunder; and accepted to obtain useful assistance for it; but hardly in the Persian gulph, where Alexander's just severity against oppressors and peculators would be known and dreaded. Altogether therefore, following circumstances of the voyage being found of a character to support the supposition, it seems hardly to be doubted that the advantageous reception in Oaracta was prepared by Alexander's orders, and that Mazenes was directed to accompany Nearchus, not without a share of authority; perhaps in the room of Archias whom the narrative mentions no more. Without imputation against Archias, Alexander might reckon a noble Persian, acquainted with the sea and its coast, and known everywhere as the governor of Oaracta, a fitter associate in authority with the admiral, for the rest of the voyage, than a Macedonian who had no such qualifications. SECT. V.

From the unnamed port where Mazenes joined the fleet, the first day's progress was of no more than twelve miles, to a port still of the same iland. The reason appears in what followed. Daybreak was waited for; and, the fleet moving then, the rapidity of the ebbing tide was such that, notwithstanding the assistance obtained of mariners familiar with the navigation, three ships grounded, and the rest, not without difficulty, making their way through the receding surf, reached the deep water. Why the flood was not used rather than the ebb, for this troublesome passage, perhaps

CHAP. LV.

may be accounted for by those who know the coast. With the rising tide however the grounded vessels floated, and rejoined the fleet, apparently undamaged.

The coast of the gulph, in this part, is, to a considerable extent, barren, sandy desert. The fleet therefore, in a course of twenty-five miles, made for an iland eighteen from the main, where it passed the night. But to hold that distance would not suit rowboats, for which frequent landing was necessary. Moving therefore at daybreak, the course was directed again toward the mainland, tho the country in that part was most uninviting. The inhabitants of the village of Sidodone where the next night was passed, separated as they were from the extensive coast of fisheaters, yet, through similarity of circumstances, a sea abounding with fish, a soil almost perfectly barren, were of similar character, fisheaters. In proceeding from this place the promontory of Tarsias was doubled, and the course was again directed to an iland, whose name, written by the Greeks Cataia, seems preserved in that written by our navigators, not from Greek but oriental mouths, Kaish. This iland tho low and flat, is, in modern description, fruitful and even beautiful. Overagainst it, on the mainland, was the boundary of Carmania against proper Persia, or, as with Vincent we may call it, Persis.

Arr. Ind. c. 38.

The first course then on the Persian shore was of only four or five-and-twenty miles to Ila; a name which, as Vincent has remarked, seems preserved in that which some modern Europeans, meaning to represent oriental pronuntiation, as they best might, have written Gillam and Gella; thus endevoring to indicate the incipient guttural, to

Arr. Ibid. Vin. on Nearchus.

which English speech has nothing analogous, and which the Greeks would be likely to leave unnoticed. The station for the next night was an iland, where then was, and still is, a pearl-fishery. Under a lofty promontory of the mainland, called Ochus, was found a harbor convenient for rowboats, where the following night was passed. This high ground seems to have been but as a point projected from the inland mountains, intersecting the general flatness of the coast. A course of about thirty miles then brought the fleet to a situation where were many vessels; and, not on the shore, but about four miles withinland, a village called Apostani; whether the barrenness of a sandy soil dissuaded nearer habitation, or, the distance was preferred for better security against piratical adventurers, where the late government had given little protection. SECT. V.

The character of the land on the coast however now was changing for the better, while that of the sea, near it, was becoming more disadvantageous. Through the whole length of the gulph on the Persian side, at no great distance from the shore, is a range of mountains; whence, in the rainy season, numerous torrents run, drenching the flat that extends from their foot to the sea, which is shallow to a great extent. The mouths of the better rivers are obstructed by bars, the tides great, and a surf everywhere breaking on the shore. In advancing up the gulph the mountains more approach the coast, and the intervening soil has no longer the desert character: on the contrary it is fruitful, but the sea is to a still greater extent incumbered with shoals. At the distance of four or five-and-twenty miles from Apostani was found an advantageous exception to this general character of the sea, in a bay, with a fruitful country around,

CHAP. LV.

bearing, beside palms, which Greece had not, all the fruit-bearing trees common in Greece. Nevertheless no stay is mentioned there. The next course, of near forty miles, was to a town called Gogana, in a populous country at the foot of the mountains, which here approach the shore; but only a scanty harbor was found. Proceeding then fifty miles, the fleet reached Sitakus, probably the best of all the inconvenient harbors of the Persian shore. Here large store of corn, provided by Alexander's care, is acknowleged to have been found. It is remarkable enough, that with all the assurance we have of his ernestness for the accommodation of his fleet, and of the severe sufferings he underwent, and dangers to which he exposed himself, to insure such accommodation, none received from him, since that early in its voyage furnished by Leonnatus, is, till now, noticed in the narrative. Here the fleet staid twenty-five days, to be overhauled and receive necessary repairs. It seems altogether likely to have been under Alexander's strict order that, on the return of Nearchus to Harmoza, the fleet immediately proceeded on its voyage, and that Sitakus was the place appointed for any repairs, beyond what might be urgently necessary, as well as for receiving supplies.

Arr. Ind. c. 39.

On moving again, the first day's course was of near fifty miles, to the town of Hieratis on the river Heratemis. An artificial canal, communicating with that river, was here the anchoring place. The next day's run was to the mouth of a winter-torrent. This expression indicates mountains to have been near; but the immediate neighborhood was fertile, abounding especially in fruit-bearing trees. Proceeding then only twelve miles, the fleet entered a

river of better character, the Granides, where was a town called Troca; at the distance of about twelve miles from which, up the country, according to information of the inhabitants, was an antient palace of the Persian kings. Then again the mouth of a torrent afforded, for such vessels, a safe harbor. The violence of the water, running from the mountains seems to have had, on this part of the coast, its singular value; keeping channels open, by which small vessels might securely reach the shore, which the shoals and the surf would otherwise have made everywhere difficult and dangerous, or even impossible. The place next resorted to, after a run of four or five-and-twenty miles, tho otherwise of similar character, had its peculiar disadvantages. The coast was rocky, and about the torrent's mouth were breakers, which, obstructing the course of the fresh water from the mountains, produced shoals; and these were troubled with a surf[16], If the place was sufficiently known to the pilots, the failure only of a better, when the crews wanted rest, could have persuaded the admiral to halt there. The fleet took its station, it appears, nearly at high water, with the hope of continuing to ride at anchor; but the ebb left all aground. Crowded on their thwarts, without room to lie at length, the situation of those aboard, uneasy for sleep, even when the vessels rode on an even keel, would be still more uneasy when, being grounded,

SECT. V.

[16] Ῥηχίη ἦν καὶ βραχέα, καὶ χοιράδες ἐκ τοῦ πόντου ἀνεῖχον. Here is most satisfactory assurance that Vincent has been right in his interpretation of ῥηχιη as the surf. The adoption of this interpretation in the last edition, Taylor's, of Hederic's lexicon, does credit to the diligence of the editor. Χοιρὰς clearly implies that character of rock which our seamen denominate a breaker.

CHAP. LV.

the position was oblique. The next flood however relieved them from the uneasy attitude and temporary bondage, and on the following day they reached the river Arosis, the largest yet seen in the whole course, from the Indus to the boundary of Persis against Susiana.

Arr. Ind. c. 40.

New difficulty for the navigation now occurred. The extent of the shoals was greatly increased, and, toward the shore, such a surf broke that landing was not prudently to be attempted. Thus rest could be taken only aboard, and, should winds be adverse, fresh water might fail. The greatest quantity, therefore, that means of stowage in row-boats would admit, was to be taken aboard, and this appears to have been limited to a five day's ordinary supply. Badness of water we have observed often noticed; but absolute want, or even short allowance, nowhere mentioned as before occurring, was not suffered now.

After a progress of thirty miles from the Arosis, the fleet anchored in a channel among the shoals, abounding with fish, which would afford relief. The next day's course was of difficulty, tho the way was marked by stakes; nearly, says the narrator, as on the western coast of Greece, between the iland of Leucas, and the mainland of Acarmania. Nevertheless the indication was not so perfect but that there was hazard of grounding; and then neither poles were availing, nor could the strength of men without relieve a stranded boat; for the mud was of so yielding a substance that they sunk presently to the breast: landing was everywhere impracticable; and thus, after a most laborious course of between thirty and forty miles, the crews (it is mentioned as a hardship worthy of notice) were to take their supper aboard. Fortu-

nately however the fleet had so cleared the shoals that progress in the night might be ventured. Persevering then till next evening, in a course of between fifty and sixty miles, and overrunning the channel leading to the mouth of the river Pasitigris, by which was the navigation to Susa, it reached Diridotis, a commercial town of Babylonia at the mouth of the Euphrates; eminent as the principal interposit for the trade between Mesopotamia and Arabia[17].

Mystery here again occurs in the narrative, and of the same character as before; respecting, not the voyage, but the commander's conduct only. Mazenes, who had been taken aboard to advise for the navigation, would surely be attended by the ablest pilots that his authority, supported by Alexander's, could procure. The mart of Susa must have been a considerable object for the commerce with Arabia, and the navigation to it well known; yet no cause is stated for missing the proper course and deviating so far as Diridotis. That it could here be in view of the commanders to avoid Alexander, and proceed directly for Babylon, would appear hardly imaginable, if the course taken, the most direct for the purpose, or

[17] Πρὸς κώμῃ τινὶ τῆς Βαβυλωνίης χώρης, ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῇ Διρίδωτις, ἵνα λιβανωτόν τε ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπορίης γῆς οἱ ἔμποροι ἀγινέουσι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα θυμιήματα ἡ Ἀράβων γῆ φέρει. Arr. Ind. c. 41. Vincent has rendered κώμη a *village*. Occasion has occurred formerly to observe, that the Greek word κώμη answers rather to the legal and technical than the familiar sense of our word *village*. Thus Manchester is a village, tho larger and more populous than perhaps any city of Great Britain, London only excepted.

Gronovius has noticed differing translations of the phrase, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπορίης γῆς, κ. τ. ε. Neither, I must own, quite satisfies me, and that least of which the commentator has declared his preference. The learned reader will judge how far I have expressed the author's meaning.

CHAP. LV.

perhaps the only one accommodated to a fleet of rowboats, was not matter to suggest the supposition, and if the failure of due explanation, and the mysterious difference between the narrative derived from the admiral, and that from the generals, by the same writer, did not afford support to such a supposition. Likely enough it may have been necessary for the fleet, after its long course through the shoals, to touch at Diridotis for supplies. Nevertheless the stay there, not specified, seems to have been only of one night; and the cause assigned for hastening away is doubly remarkable. Information was obtained, the admiral's narrative says, that Alexander was marching for Susa. But it must have been well known to him, as he had been directed to meet Alexander at Susa, that he would be marching thither, if not alreddy arrived; and, considering the stay of the fleet at Sitakus, with Alexander's no more than ordinary rapidity of progress, notwithstanding the halt of some days at Parsagardæ, he might well have been arrived, as the narrative from the generals implies that he was. The acknowlegement then here of intelligence of Alexander is farther remarkable, as it is the first found, in the admiral's narrative, of any obtained in the whole voyage, after the meeting with Leonnatus, early in its course, excepting that at Harmoza, which is asserted to have been not official, but meerly accidental; and, shortly again we shall find that where information might reasonably have been expected, it is asserted to have been unaccountably failing. Notice of these mysterious circumstances appeared requisite, tho guide for conjecture of what may have given occasion for them fails. The fleet returned hastily, by its former course among the shoals, to the channel

which it should before have entered, and, without any recorded difficulty, proceeded to the Pasitigris.

The great rivers of the south of Asia, having their sources at wide distances, in that vast chain of mountains which divides the continent in its length from west to east, are driven, by the form of the land, toward a few openings to the ocean, some joining in their courses, and others nearly approaching at their mouths. The Persian gulph receives, beside, the Euphrates and the Tigris, two other rivers, inferior, yet still large, antiently named Pasitigris and Eulæus. These, for a considerable way before reaching the gulph, have their courses nearly parallel, and not very distant, through a flat country. Susa stood on the Eulæus. But this river was, toward its mouth, so inconvenient for navigation, that the preferable course for vessels, from the gulph to Susa, was up the Pasitigris, to a canal communicating with the Eulæus. The fleet therefore entering the Pasitigris, proceeded up it, through a rich and populous country, fifty miles, to a bridge on the great road leading from Carmania, across Persis to Susa. There was found a division of the army, not unprovided, it may be believed, with supplies as well as orders for the fleet, and directions for any needful assistance, while Nearchus and Onesicritus, in obedience to command, proceeded by land to wait upon the king at Susa[18].

[18] These, on careful comparison of Arrian's narrative of the voyage, from Nearchus, with his narrative of the march, from Aristobulus and Ptolemy, appear to me most likely to have been the circumstances, greatly amplified in the former, and wholly unnoticed in the latter. In a note at the end of the next section the matter will be farther noticed.

CHAPTER LVI.

Transactions in the March from CARMANIA through PERSIA and SUSIANA. Measures for Improvement of Territory and Extension of Commerce. Affairs in GREECE.

SECTION I.

March from Carmania to Parsagardæ.—Persia described.—Spoliation of Cyrus's Sepulcher at Parsagardæ.—Delinquency of Officers in high Authority.—Rebellion obviated: Oppression punished.

CHAP. LVI. B.C. 325. January.

HAVING dismissed Nearchus to resume the command of the fleet, and proceed with it up the Persian gulph, Alexander moved with the army again westward. His presence, it appears, was urgently wanted in the rich and extensive regions, conquered so rapidly, and left so soon, and now so long, in large part confided to governors from among the conquered people. Attended therefore only by the companion-cavalry, some infantry, apparently heavy-armed, but chosen for ability to bear a fatigue, and a division of bowmen, he took himself the shortest road, over a hilly country, to Parsagardæ[1], the capital of Persis, committing the

[1] Among the various spellings of the name of the metropolis of Persis, found among the Greek and Latin writers, I have

main body, with all the elephants, to Hephæstion, to go by a more circuitous road, through a lower country, near the coast; where provisions were plentiful, and the winter air mild. SECT. I.

Persis, the first dominion of the great Cyrus, a small portion only of the extensive country, which, in modern times, has borne the name of Persia, is less known, at this day, than any other country of equal fame. Modern observation however, as far as it has gone, confirms the account given of it by Arrian, from Nearchus. Toward the gulph is a tract known by our navigators by the name of Ghermeseer[2]; low, with a sandy soil, mostly barren, and a torrid atmosphere. A range of mountains bounds this unprofitable country. Beyond these, the plains, holding a considerable elevation above the ocean, tho so near the tropic, injoy a most advantageous temperature; summer not violently hot, nor winter severely cold. The soil being mostly excellent, grapes and all the fruits common in Greece, olives excepted, are plentiful: the country is well watered; in some parts the rivers expand into lakes, well stored with fish, and frequented by water-fowl; pasture is plentiful, and meadows are common; woods are frequent, affording timber and fuel, and protecting game: cattle are numerous; horses especially ex-

been induced by Vincent's observations to prefer that in the text.

[2] Vincent shows here, what is to be regretted, his almost total failure of acquaintance with any modern speech but his own. 'I have retained *Kermesir*,' he says, 'which is the or-'thography of Niebuhr; but Mr. Jones writes it *Ghermeseer*, 'which I conclude is more correspondent to oriental authori-'ty.' I cannot but prefer Mr. Jones's orthography as that proposed to direct English, and not forein, voices to the oriental pronuntiation.

CHAP. LVI.

cellent; and the human form is said to have been, and to be still, found there in its greatest perfection. Beyond this valuable country, against Media, is a range of lofty mountains, where, in summer, the air of the vallies is suffocating, and in winter snows prevail.

Alexander, having crossed the mountains, which divide the fruitful part of Carmania from the rich plains of Persis, on reaching Parsagardæ, was informed of a matter that gave him great displeasure. The magnificent sepulcher of the great Cyrus, which he had left uninjured with all its rich contents, in the care of a kind of college of magians, established for the purpose by the Persian kings, had been plundered. The description of this monument which Arrian has given, after Alexander's general and historian, Aristobulus, hardly would the modern historian excusably pass unregarded.

The sepulcher of Cyrus, he says, was in the paradise of the palace; an eastern phrase signifying those extensive pleasure-gardens, with adjoining parks, ordinary appendages of the houses of the Persian great, and adopted by the Greeks, because, to them, living mostly within city-walls, and always in fear for their fields, that elegant luxury had not, in their own language, a name. The building stood on a lawn, surrounded by a wood of various trees, and inlivened by a stream. In so warm a climate the lawn was admired for its luxuriant grass and unfading verdure. The building consisted of a chamber, raised on a quadrangular basement, and having the roof of the same stone with the walls. It may seem that the construction of the dome was alreddy known in the East, and that the style of sepulchral monument,

seen yet among the antient buildings of India, of considerable art, but of more magnificence than elegance, was alreddy in practice. The door-way was so narrow that a man even of ordinary size had some difficulty to enter; a circumstance observed of the sepulchral chambers in the Egyptian pyramids. In the chamber stood a bed with golden feet, having furniture of purple cloth, and a coverlet of Babylonian tapestry. On the bed was a coffin of gold, containing the embalmed body of Cyrus. A table bore the various articles of a splendid regal dress, with the ornamental appendages usual in the East, chains and earrings of gold, and cimiters with hilts of gold, all inriched with gems. An inscription on the wall, in the Persian language and characters, said, 'O man! I am 'Cyrus son of Cambyses, who acquired empire 'for the Persians, and reigned over Asia; envy me 'not this monument.'

Such still was the state of the sepulcher when Alexander saw it, while passing the winter at Parsagardæ. At its foot, and near the steps leading to the chamber, was a small building allotted to the residence of the magians, who had been constituted its hereditary guardians; the sons succeeding their fathers in the office. For their maintenance a sheep was allowed them daily, with a proportionate quantity of meal and wine, and monthly a horse to be sacrificed to Cyrus. This establishment, maintained by Alexander, had not, in his absence, answered its purpose. All the rich furniture of the chamber had been taken away. The coffin and the bed remained, but not uninjured. The lid of the coffin was gone; and upon the rest marks of violence were evident, with the purpose of cutting or breaking off parts, whence

CHAP. LVI.

the body itself had suffered. Alexander, in vexation and anger at this sacrilege, caused the magians, so evidently in fault by connivance, or at least by negligence, if not even actively concerned in the crime, to be put to torture. Their perseverance, however, in denying that they had either participated in the sacrilege, or had any knowlege of its authors, unlikely as it may seem that this could be truth, induced him to allow their release. He was then careful to have the monument restored, as far as might be, to the former state, committing the superintendance of the business to Aristobulus, from whose history of Alexander Arrian took the account here given. The door-way was then blocked up with masonry, and the impression of the royal signet was given to every joint.

Other and greater delinquents than the magians were soon after denounced. Alexander, at his departure for the conquest of Media and pursuit of Darius, had committed the satrapy of Persis to Phrasaortes, a Persian. While he was in India Phrasaortes died, and then Orxines, also a Persian, whether in office under the deceased satrap is not said, took upon himself to fill the vacant situation. That he incurred any blame simply on that account is also unsaid, but numerous complaints were now preferred against him by the Persians; that he had plundered temples, that he was the robber of the royal sepulcher; and that he had unjustly directed the execution of many persons, some of them Persians. To what manner of trial he was subjected, in consequence of these accusations, the historian has not mentioned; reporting only the result, that Orxines was publicly executed.

The appointment to the important satrapy of the ancient kingdom of Persia then rewarded the fidelity and zeal of the new lord of the body-guard Peucestas; who had not meerly recommended, but, in a matter of no small moment, qualified himself for it, by the diligence with which he had acquired the Persian language. This was very gratifying to the Persians. Peucestas, moreover, had been the first of the Macedonians to appear in their national dress, and by his conduct altogether he became very popular among them. Alexander approved his conduct, as tending to reconcile the proudest of his new subjects to their new situation, under the dominion of a forein conqueror. SECT. I.

The urgency for a politic condescension toward the conquered nations appears in what had occurred in the adjoining kingdom of Media; which for its several advantages of situation, climate, population and wealth, was perhaps the most important province of the empire. While Alexander was far eastward, Baryaxes, a Mede, had led a revolt, assuming the title of king of the Medes and Persians. The satrapy of Media had been intrusted to Atropates, who also was a Mede or a Persian (for the Greek writers have been rarely solicitous to distinguish them) and with what judgement appeared in the event. Atropates had quelled the rebellion, and came now to wait upon the king at Parsagardæ, bringing Baryaxes and some of his principal supporters, prisoners. These were presently executed.

After no long stay at Parsagardæ Alexander hastened to Susa[3]. His vigor, in repressing and

[3] In Arrian's narrative from Ptolemy and Aristobulus, without notice of any circumstances of the march, Alexander's

CHAP. LVI.

punishing opposition to his new sovereinty, appears to have been not greater than his ernestness to prevent oppression of his new subjects, his diligence in attending to their complaints, and the strictness of his controll over those in authority among them. Information of his condescension and of his justice having preceded him, complaints preferred to him were numerous. For, says Arrian, when it had become known that Alexander was beyond the Indus, and the Hydaspes, and the Akesines, and the Hyphasis, daily exposing himself to danger, and still proposing to proceed to more unknown regions; and even afterward, when, instead of returning by the safe way of Arachosia, by which he sent the largest division of his army under Craterus, he had resolved himself to brave the horrors of the Gadrosian desert, many, left in authority, throughout the conquered countries, proceeded to inrich themselves in all ways within their power,

arrival only at Susa is mentioned in three words, Παρελθὼν ἐς Σοῦσα. But in his narrative from Nearchus, matters remarkable enough are reported. Alexander, it is there said, at the head of his army, joined his fleet lying in the Tigris, and, notwithstanding the urgency for his hastening forward, indicated in the account from the generals, he delayed his progress to celebrate there the happy junction, with sacrifice, procession and games, among which Nearchus was singularly honored by the army. Vincent, ernest for the credit of his admiral, has been anxious to reconcile the two narratives, and flattered himself that he had succeeded. Wherever they may differ I cannot, for myself, hesitate to prefer that of the generals; which, as far as it goes, is clear; and they had no obvious interest in giving a false coloring to any of the circumstances. But there are awkwardnesses here as elsewhere, in the report from the admiral himself. At Diridotis, in a corner of the Persian gulph, far out of Alexander's way, intelligence of the king and the army, the admiral has acknowleged, was reddy for him; yet afterward, in the rich and populous country on the banks of the Pasitigris, across which the king and the army were necessarily to pass, if indeed not alreddy gone by, information so failed that he had to send

plundering temples and sepulchers, and oppressing the people. The satrap of Susiana, Abulites, a Persian, and his son Oxathres, were accused as eminent in this course. Both suffered capitally. But the greater number, of those implicated in such crimes, were Greeks. The impartiality then with which Alexander proceeded to punish the guilty, whether Persians or Greeks, Macedonians or republicans, would not be generally approved by the conquering nation. It was imputed to him that he was extreme in believing accusations, and punishing what they called small crimes. But this imputation is left quite general; insomuch that no particulars of either the offenders or the offences, which Arrian has mentioned as so numerous, have reached us. Excepting the generals Heracon, Cleander and Sitalces, whose eminence would make

SECT. I.

messengers some days' journey to inquire for them. How it should be, not only that such intelligence as was reddy at Diridotis should fail on the Pasitigris, but also that Alexander's care, acknowleged in the supplies found at Sitakus, also should fail, where least of all it may seem to have been likely to fail, is left for conjecture. Why, in the admiral's narrative, the bank of the Pasitigris has been chosen for the place in which he would have the Greeks at home believe that he, among sacrifices, processions and games, received from the hand of his king the honors which the testimony of the generals, surely more creditable for him, attributed to him at Susa, we also inquire in vain. His omission to acknowlege that his collegue Onesicritus, received, as the report from the generals assures us, the same honor with him, is quite in consonance with all that appears of his character.

These differences, clearly not unworthy of historical notice, it may be observed are so far from impeaching the general credit of the history that they vouch for it. Were not the more important facts beyond suspicion true, these minor matters in controversy would never have reached us. For the credit of Roman history we might desire, oftener than they are found, similarly conflicting reports from writers of different interests.

CHAP. LVI.

notice of their fate hardly avoidable, not even the name of any Europeän, who suffered in any way, has been transmitted.

SECTION II.

Difficulties of Alexander for his Civil Government: His Purpose to make, of his various Subjects, one People: Marriages of Greeks with Persians: Bounty to the Army.

To settle the government of his vast empire Alexander had a business before him of greater difficulty perhaps than all his conquests; never such occurred for any man besides known in history. To estimate that difficulty it will be necessary, among other considerations, to look back to the earliest evidence of that distinction of Greek and barbarian, which became so strong in Grecian minds, forming a prominent feature of the national character. Homer, as occasion has occurred formerly to observe, knew nothing of it; and even Herodotus, in whose time the prejudice was already powerful, shows that less than a century before him it hardly existed. In the age of Crœsus, the Lydians appear not to have been considered by the Greeks as any otherwise distinguished from themselves than the several modern Europeän nations at this day from oneanother. Even Æschylus shows nothing of that insolent claim of superiority for those of Grecian blood and language, and that principle of uncharitableness toward all others, which however grew in his time; resulting from the Persian invasions of Greece, and incouraged by the extraordinary victories obtained by the little republics, on land

and sea, which delivered them from the slavery, or even annihilation, which they had dreaded from the vast power of the Persian empire. Then grew that narrow pride, which would deny to the Macedonians and Epirots their claim to be of the Greek nation; while yet all the boasted advancement in philosophy left uncorrected that cruel selfishness, found in modern times only among the meerest savages, whence the whole population of even Grecian republics was, without remorse, reduced to slavery, and in some instances extirpated, by their fellow Greeks of other republics. But now the military glory and political importance of the Macedonians would not only raise their claim to consideration among the Greeks, but give them an effectual superiority; while on the other hand the republicans, with the presumption and illiberality common to republicans, tho hating oneanother, assumed still to be all superior to the rest of mankind.

Differing thus among themselves, yet the agreement was general in aversion to allow the subdued nations any equality of rank or advantages. The conquest of the greatest part of the civilized world, comprizing countless millions of inhabitants, had been wonderfully made with an army of comparatively a very few thousands. But how those millions should be held in that state of degradation and oppression, which so many of the conquerors desired, and yet continue to furnish the wealth which was their great object, and what should be the form of government to satisfy, not the conquered, but even the small proportion of conquerors, and maintain that union among them necessary to the continuance of their dominion, were

CHAP. LVI.

problems which human wisdom would hardly solve.

Alexander, on the other hand, it appears, had early conceived the magnanimous and philanthropic project to consolidate his new empire by bringing his subjects of distant parts, and different languages, manners, and religions, to coälesce as one people. So early as in the second year of his progress in conquest he made this evident by his measures in Egypt. His successes afterward were of amount that might stimulate less capacious minds to extravagance of ambition. His purpose of carrying conquest to the extremity of the East, clearly was extravagant, and his abandonment of it, in compliance with the wishes of his army was evidently in no small amount forced; yet, in the manner of that concession, as well as in following measures, he made the greatness of his mind conspicuous. Where just consideration must have convinced him that he was wrong, he yielded, yet with dignity. But, when the eager desires and stubborn prejudices of a large majority among all his original subjects were adverse to a good purpose, he would not yield. Nevertheless in whatever might be done toward softening their prejudices, satisfying any reasonable desires, and reconciling them to what was requisite for the permanency, not more perhaps of his own power than of their advantages, he was most liberal and most diligent.

Alreddy, as we have seen, he had himself taken a wife from among the conquered people. Many probably before, but more after his example, had done the same. This mode of amalgamating nations would be more adverse to the prejudices of the republican Greeks, whose illiberal jealousies

forbad intermarriage even of Greeks beyond their several townships, than of the Macedonians, whose customs, warranting their princes, probably allowed subjects also to take wives from other states. Alexander resolved to prosecute it, and in a signal manner. At Susa he had left the family of the late king of Persia his prisoners. Married as he was alreddy to the daughter of the Bactrian chief Oxyartes, he now took, as an additional wife, Barsine, eldest daughter of Darius, who, probably, when he left her at Susa, was under marriageable age. Concerning this measure, which certainly was not consonant to Grecian common rule, nor, as we learn, to Persian, what was the public opinion at the time is much less indicated by antient writers than might be expected. The marriage with Barsine, or, as others have given her name, Statira (if one of these be not rather a title) was reported by all historians of the time. Aristobulus, in his history, as Arrian assures us, added that Alexander also married Parysatis, daughter of the former soverein of the Persian empire, Artaxerxes Ochus; not however mentioning when this took place; nor does it appear that the fact was noticed by any other cotemporary writer. SECT. II.

Consonantly then with what afterward, under the feudal institutions, prevailed over Europe, he was probably warranted by oriental custom as soverein of the empire, in assuming to himself to dispose, in marriage, of the daughters of the greatest families. To cement the union of the conquering and conquered nations, he gave them to his principal officers. Whether any of these, like himself, had alreddy wives is not said. For his eminently favored friend Hephæstion he made the most illustrious match, giving him a younger sister

CHAP. LVI.

of his own new queen, another daughter of Darius Codomannus. He then gave Amastrine, daughter of Oxyartes brother of Codomannus, to Craterus, whom he appears to have esteemed the ablest of his surviving generals: the daughter of Atropates, satrap of Media, was betrothed to Perdiccas; one of the daughters of the venerable Artabazus to Ptolemy the historian, afterward king of Egypt; and another to Eumenes his chief secretary, eminent not so only, but as an officer perhaps inferior to none. Eumenes was not of a Macedonian family, but of the republican Greek settlement of Cardia in Thrace; whose people, in Philip's reign and before, had distinguished themselves by their perseverance in resisting the tyranny of the Athenian people, and maintaining their right to prefer the alliance or patronage of the Macedonian kings. The loss of his history of Alexander, is, in the destruction of antient memorials, especially to be regretted. The services of Nearchus recently arrived from the fleet, were rewarded with a present of a wife whose mother only was Persian, her father that eminent Greek in the Persian service, Mentor; who, had he and his brother Memnon survived, if human speculation should be trusted, were likely to have given a very different turn to the affairs of the civilized world. Extensive as their interest was among the Grecian republics, and at the same time high as their esteem in the Persian empire, not only they might probably have stopped Alexander's career, but produced another kind of a revolution, still by a union of Greeks and Persians, in which however it could hardly have been but that the Persian interest must have predominated. The match made for Seleucus, eminent afterward among the successors to the empire, was remarkable, as

it tends to show the extent of Alexander's views in uniting his subjects of the two nations. To that highly esteemed officer he gave a daughter of his persevering opponent, who had fallen in the adverse cause, the Bactrian Spitamenes. Possibly Seleucus had made acquaintance with the lady, and solicited the match; tho that he could then have had any view to the splendid fortune, to which it may nevertheless have assisted to lead him, is utterly unlikely. Altogether from illustrious families of the conquered empire he made eighty matches for his principal officers. SECT. II.

These marriages of the most eminent being arranged, all the Macedonians who had taken oriental wives, apparently including all Greeks of that which, for a comprehensive name, was called the Macedonian army, were assembled; and, a roll of them being taken, they were found to be above ten thousand. The weddings were then celebrated after the Persian manner; a compliment which could not but be gratifying to the families of the ladies. The ceremony was followed by a magnificent supper for the men only. We have observed formerly that, in the Greek republics, women, unless of the lowest ranks, lived in much seclusion; far more than in the previous times of kingly government; but among the Persians that seclusion was yet stricter. Among neither people however was allowed the society of reputable women with men at table. But after the meal, whether approved by republican manners, or, as the particularity of the description may lead to suppose, only in the Macedonian and other surviving Grecian monarchies, the ladies were introduced. Each, as she entered, was received by her betrothed husband, joining right hands, and saluting her with

CHAP. LVI.

a kiss, and then seating her by him. This society however was of short duration. Presently, the king leading throughout the ceremony, every husband severally handed away his wife. The association thus of the king with his subjects, so contrary to that sullen tho pompous seclusion of the royal person, which had gained establishment as a rule among the Persians, was highly gratifying to the Greeks, and softened, in some degree, the ill-humour excited by the extensive favor to the conquered, and the adoption of their customs in so many instances.

That ill-humor was farther obviated by a magnificent liberality. Dowers were given with all the wives; and this was followed by a bounty more out of all expectation. The disposition, eminent among our seamen, to be eager to acquire riches, and careless of them when acquired, had grown in Alexander's army. His donations, or what we call prizemoney, rapidly gained, were rapidly dissipated. From this extravagance many profited, perhaps more of the conquered than of the conquering nation, and, with the view to further profit, gave credit to those who, having acquired expensive habits, were unwilling to forego them. Many debts however were contracted beyond all reasonable hope of means for payment. Conquest ended, the former opportunities were ended; creditors became uneasy; and debtors feared complaints, which might excite the severity of the king's justice against them. Alexander, informed of this, ordered a return of all debts contracted by officers and soldiers, adding a promise that they should be paid. This liberality had not immediately the proposed effect. Not improbably credit had sometimes been extorted by threats. All accounts

mark that, under republican commanders, such and even greater violence to barbarians, as they were termed, could not have been either prevented or punished. Even in Alexander's army such had been the extravagance in borrowing, whether by extortion or favor, yet such the jealousy which the signal demonstration of his determination to dispense equal justice to all his subjects excited, that, some fearing the reproach of violence, some of fraud, some, according to the historian, only of extravagance, few would acknowlege any debts.

Alexander's measure was of a kind not to be prompted by either extravagance in himself, or by simple liberality, of which indeed it could be no prudent result. He saw a storm growing which it behooved him to obviate. Not satisfied therefore with the evasion of his offered bounty, in following orders he reproved the suspicion which had been so extensively entertained. 'As it be-'came a king' he said, 'to be strict in speaking 'only truth, so it ill became subjects to entertain 'groundless suspicion that it could be their king's 'purpose to deceive them.' Tables were then placed in a convenient manner throughout the camp, with a sufficiency of money on them; and, under direction of proper officers, accounts were called for, debts paid, and receipts given, without any memorial kept of the debtors' names. The amount of this largess, if the copyists may be trusted for numbers, was, according to Arrian, reported to have been twenty thousand talents, between four and five millions sterling. The army, it is added, was more gratified by the generous allowance to conceal the debtors' names, than even by the relief from debt, and apprehended consequences.

CHAP. LVI.

From this indulgence for misconduct, Alexander proceeded to reward merit. To all who had distinguished themselves he assigned largesses in proportion to their rank and services; but to a few of the more eminent he added an honorary present, ordinary, as we have formerly seen, among the Grecian republics, a golden crown, in general assembly placed on the head of the receiver, and, on this occasion, by the king in person. Peucestas, to whom he reckoned himself principally indebted for the preservation of his life, when he had so rashly leaped singly into the Mallian fortress, was the first so distinguished. The second honor was given to Leonnatus, who, beside having shared in that singularly perilous service, had distinguished himself on several occasions in India, and still more afterward in the return westward, when, left with the command in the Orite country, he had, by a signal victory, quelled the rebellion of the Orites and their allies, and then, with great prudence, settled the government of that wild part of the empire, where any powerful hostility might have been even fatal to the fleet in passing along its coast. The king's value for the service of the fleet itself was shown in giving the third crown to Nearchus, and the fourth to Onesicritus.

Prudence, a virtue not generally attributed to Alexander, tho in his progress in achievement largely indicated, is in this distribution of honors remarkable. No man he is said to have valued as a friend and confidential adviser equally with Hephæstion, and no man was more distinguished by ordinary honors. Hephæstion appears nevertheless to have been not of splendid talents, nor so esteemed by Alexander. The qualities valued in him were good sense, sincere friendship, a sober

SECT. II.

mind and a warm heart. Accordingly the more difficult enterprizes were never committed to him, but he was selected for the highest and most confidential commands when the business was only to maintain loyalty and good order. It was on the present occasion resolved that Hephæstion, and with him all the other lords of the body-guard, whose chief he seems to have been, should receive the honor of a crown for their faithful services altogether; but secondary only to those who had earned it in laborious and hazardous enterprize. Thus Hephæstion, tho clearly first in the king's favor and confidence, was only fifth in the number of those now distinguished. Nor was the honor extended beyond those high officers, his associates; a limitation which would make it the more flattering to those who first received it.

In this, and in all measures at this time taken, there seems to have been a view to those further resolved on; apparently necessary to the consolidation of the new empire, but of a kind to be generally offensive to those by whom that empire had been acquired. Many satraps of the conquered provinces arrived at Susa, bringing recruits for the army, natives of their several countries, to the number of thirty thousand; all completely instructed in the Grecian discipline, and a considerable part of them in that of the horse-service. The whole cavalry of the army, previously in four divisions, was now arranged in five; not by adding one composed intirely of orientals, but by distributing these among all. In the number of the recruits was a body of Persians bearing among their fellowcountrymen a distinguishing title in their own language, not explained to us: the others were all from the north-eastern countries, Bactria,

CHAP. LVI.

Sogdiana, Arachosia, Zarangia, Areia, and Parthia. Alexander's preference for the character of those whom he had found most difficult to subdue, is thus made evident. But for their very virtues they would the more be objects of jealousy among his old subjects, who had long been in the habit of despising the southern and western Asiatics, but could not despise these. His confidence in the men of higher rank among them was remarkably enough demonstrated; the highest commissions in his new division of cavalry being assigned to them exclusively. The chief command of the whole body was committed to Hydaspes, a Bactrian. Under him Cophes son of Artabazus, Hydarnes and Antiboles, sons of Mazæus, Pharasmanes son of Phrataphernes satrap of Parthia and Hyrcania, Itanes brother of Alexander's first queen Roxana, and Ægobares, and Mithrobæus, described only as brothers, but marked, by their association with those before named, as men of eminent dignity, held the next rank. Nevertheless, however this may have been required by just consideration, not only of the general interest of the whole empire, but also of the particular interest of the people both of the Macedonian kingdom and the Grecian republics, yet it would not be satisfactory to those of either, who, now in high situations, were aspiring to higher. At the same time the mass of the Grecian army saw, with particular envy, some of the barbarians, as they were called, admitted into that distinguished body the royal-companion horse. Discontent thus was brooding, but nothing immediately broke out.

SECTION III.

Alexander's Voyage down the river Eulæus to the Persian Gulph, and up the Tigris to Opis. Correction of Maladministration under the Persian Government. Mutiny of the Army: Renewed Loyalty of the Army.

SECT. III.

ALEXANDER, alreddy when at Pasargadæ and Persepolis[3], according to Arrian, expressed an ernest desire, as he had explored the courses of the Indus to the ocean, to examine those of the rivers that discharge their waters into the Persian gulph. Some writers, he adds, have reported that he had in view to circumnavigate Africa, little as its extent southward was then known; and entering the Mediterranean by that now called the Strait of Gibraltar, and subduing Carthage, to bring all under his dominion. Others said that his purpose was to return to Greece, and, in the way, add the Scythian and other countries about the Euxine sea to his Europeän kingdom. According to the fancy of others again, he had been alarmed by report of the threatening progress of the Romans in conquest, whence his first purpose was to secure Sicily and the Grecian towns of Italy against them. 'For myself,' adds the historian, 'I can neither 'gather with any certainty what were his purposes, 'nor do I care for conjecture: only of this I am

[3] Ὡς δὲ ἐς Πασαργάδας τε καὶ ἐς Περσέπολιν ἀφίκετο Ἀλέξανδρος, πόθος καταλαμβάνει αὐτὸν, κ. τ. ε. This, the only instance of the occurrence of the Greek name Persepolis in Arrian's extant works, must be what Vincent has meant to refer to as marking Arrian's distinction of Persepolis and Pasargadæ, or Parsagardæ. How far Arrian has intended to mark any such distinction, the curious reader, observing the many instances in which the name Pasargadæ is found in his history of Alexander, will judge for himself.

CHAP. LVI.

'confident, that he would not remain idle in the 'injoyment of what he alreddy possessed, and 'that his view would not be limited to small 'objects; but, on the contrary, could he have 'added Europe to Asia, and the Britannic ilands 'to Europe, he would still have sought unknown 'lands; and, when nothing remained to contend 'for, the restlessness of his mind would not have 'ceased.'

With regard to the Grecian settlements in Italy and Sicily, it may be observed that, as members of that eminent nation of which Alexander was the elected head, they would of course be objects of his care; but, for his apprehension of the Romans, beside the negative evidence, formerly noticed, that even the name of Rome is not found in the works of Aristotle who survived him, the positive testimony of Roman history marks it for a vain fancy, originating in later ages. When his kinsman and cotemporary, Alexander king of Molossis, lost his life in war in Italy, the power of the Roman people was not yet formidable to the Greeks, even of that country; nor became at all alarming till half a century later, when, after considerable conquests among the Italian states, it showed itself in the war with Pyrrhus, successor of the Molossian Alexander.

The next objects of the greater Macedonian Alexander's pursuit, made fully known to us, were of a kind worthy of a great prince. The bounty of nature, often not immediately obvious to man's view, nor profitable to him without exertion of his ingenuity and industry, offered to the possessors of the vast plain, about the rivers flowing into the Persian gulph, great reward for such exertion. Periodical floods brought sometimes destruction,

sometimes plenty, as the season was more or less favorable. Under the Assyrian princes, commanding a great population, supported by a soil highly, but precariously, productive, measures had been taken, with great labor, to extend the inundations in some parts, to confine them in others, and to form canals for the convenience of water-carriage. Thus the land formerly valuable was protected, a very great extent, formerly barren, was made highly fruitful, and the produce was cheaply conveyed to its market.

The Assyrian kings had their residence in Mesopotamia; and, from their comparatively moderate extent of dominion, the revenue from that country would be of principal importance. With the Persian dynasty, afterward, neither the land, nor the climate, nor the people, were in favor; the flat and often flooded soil unsuitable both for their pleasure-gardens, intitled paradises, in which they delighted, and for their favorite amusement of hunting; the climate hot and moist; the people of another language and another religion; nor, in the extent of the Persian empire, was the revenue from that one, tho a very rich province, important equally as for the Assyrian princes. Thus not only improvements were discontinued, but the maintenance of those alreddy made was neglected; left, apparently to the means of the proprietors, or of the neighboring townships, under the government of conquerors who disliked them.

The Assyrian kings appear to have thought little of maritime commerce. But the extraordinary successes of the Sidonians and Tyrians, whose merchants, like those of Florence, Venice and Genoa in modern ages, are described as princes

CHAP. LVI.

of the earth, had excited the attention of the able early sovereins of Palestine, and their patronage of that source of public and private wealth had been largely successful. Whether Alexander's views toward it had originated, as may seem probable, from his father's policy, whose principal revenue appears to have been derived from the commerce of the Thessalian ports, or had been excited by what he had observed in Phenicia, where he would no doubt obtain information inabling him to inlarge them, they were evidently alreddy extensive, when, at the early age of twenty-four he took possession of Egypt, and there, in the space of a few months, laid the foundation of the greatest commercial system that had been seen in the world, and which florished after him near twenty centuries. India offered a field in which his mind, with such a favorite purpose, would not fail to expatiate; and, on his return toward Babylon, after having not only opened the way toward that wealthy country by land, but proved the possibility of also reaching it by sea, that it employed his extraordinary diligence greatly, we have assurances from all historians. Arrian especially, expressing himself doubtfully concerning the extravagant views to farther conquest, attributed to him by some, affords evidence of his speculating on the extension of commerce, clear and decisive. Nevertheless, tho to what extent must remain utterly uncertain, yet that he meditated some farther conquest, as necessary, not only to commerce in view, but to the peace of his subjects in some of the richest parts of his actual empire, appears more than probable.

Ch. 36. s. 2. of this History.

Babylon, the capital of the first prince on record as powerful in arms, was not chosen by him with

Genesis, c. 10.

SECT. III.

a view to those pleasures of the chace, of little danger, but no use, in which his successors in empire delighted; it would be a work of peril and labor to dislodge the lions from their thickets, and make the plain secure for the husbandman. But the beasts of the forest were not the only disturbers of the peace, and invaders of the property, of the industrious cultivators of that wide and rich plain, the best part of the Assyrian dominion, called by the Greeks Mesopotamia, the Midriverland. Bounded on one side by the great sandy desert, spredding through Arabia to Egypt, on two others by rugged and lofty mountains, these became retreats for the idle and profligate of mankind, who multiplied into nations of robbers, depending on rapine for the best part of their livelihood. From earliest history to the present day such has been the character, and such the profession, of the scattered, but altogether numerous population of the extensive desert, from the border of the Euphrates to the Red Sea, and of the highlanders generally throughout Asia. As then it seems indicated that the first conqueror obtained his title of a mighty hunter, by destroying, as we are told of some of the Grecian heroes, the wild beasts which infested his country, so the more general description of him by the first known historian, as 'a mighty 'one on earth,' appears to mark that, as it is said particularly of Hercules, he was successful in supporting the industrious and peaceful of the cultivated country, against the violent and lawless of the wilds.

Genesis, c. 10.

Ch. 1. s. 2. of this History.

Alexander, however, presently on returning to those rich plains whose state he had formerly seen,

CHAP. LVI.

took measures for repairing the damage suffered from neglect under the Persian monarchs, and moreover for carrying improvement far beyond what had before been in contemplation; he would promote agriculture by maritime commerce, and maritime commerce by agriculture. But, bordering on Babylonia, touching on the Euphrates, if not even holding part of the country on both sides of that great river toward its mouth, were hords of Arabs, whose propensities were adverse to the quiet and welfare both of the husbandman and merchant. The allowance of the Persian government for those pirates of the Desert, appears to have been nearly such as we have formerly seen it for those of the mountains; marking either extreme weakness in itself, or extreme negligence of the welfare of its subjects. To awe, if not to subdue these would be in Alexander's view.

Having resolved then himself to examine the circumstances both of the rivers and of the country, he began with the stream on which Susa stood, the Eulæus, by which of course would be the reddiest communication with the sea, if, in approaching the gulph, it could be made as free for navigation as it was upward toward the city. With this object he imbarked with a small escort of horse and foot, directing the main body of the army to attend his motions, marching on the bank; the whole fleet accompanying him as far as the canals which communicated, one with the Pasitigris eastward, the river by which Nearchus had ascended, another with the greater river Tigris westward. For the more difficult navigation, from the canals to the mouth of the Eulæus, he would not hazard the whole fleet, but, with a few of the lighter

vessels, proceeded himself. Without accident he reached the gulph; and then, turning westward along its shore, entered the Tigris, and ascended that stream to its junction with the canal, where he rejoined the main bodies of both the fleet and the army.

This greater river also had its obstructions, now to be examined. The measures of the Persian monarchs for the protection of their Mesopotamian subjects against the inroads of the Arabs, formidable only as pirates, are indeed remarkable. Instead of proposing to facilitate maritime commerce, and repress piracy, by a powerful marine, instead of anything consistent either with their duty to their Mesopotamian subjects or their own dignity, their resource for checking depredation was to establish a perpetual blockade of their own river. Dams had been formed at intervals across the stream, to stop the ascent of vessels. Alexander, causing these to be removed, laid the navigation open[4].

[4] 'Alexander removed the dikes with which the Persian 'monarchs had obstructed the stream. His historians delight 'in attributing these obstructions to the timidity of the Per- 'sians, and the removal of them to the magnanimity of the 'conqueror; but Niebuhr, who found similar dikes both in 'the Euphrates and Tigris still existing, observes, that they 'are constructed for the purpose of keeping up the waters to 'inundate the contiguous level; if so, the demolition is as 'derogatory from the policy and sagacity of the monarch, 'as it is flattering to his intrepidity.' Vin. on Nearch. p. 505.

This passage had escaped my recollection when I wrote what is on the subject in the text; but, on my best consideration, it appears to me that the worthy and diligent dean has not used his ordinary caution here. The exact situation of Opis he acknowleges to be unknown; and therefore whether any dam, which Niebuhr saw, was below it, must be somewhat uncertain. The neglect of the beneficial works

CHAP. LVI.

As far as Susa the promised progress of the army homeward had been interrupted only by the necessary halting for rest, or for business obviously requiring attention. But the expedition to the Persian gulph was of another character. Not only it was an interruption of the progress homeward, uncalled for by any necessity obvious to the many, but would be likely to excite jealousy of views to farther conquest, and promote rumors on the subject, which might not otherwise have arisen. The predatory habits of the bordering Arabs would be known by report; and Alexander's ernestness to reduce to civil order all such, within or bordering on his dominions, had, in the course of his progress eastward, been largely shown. But it might be farther apprehended that the fame of conquering a country like Arabia, never known to have been conquered, might allure him; and to command the whole of the sea-coast, so far at least as to repress piracy, would be reddily supposed, if not even known, to be within his views. The torrid zone had been imagined, by some of the elder Greek philosophers, to be uninhabitable for heat, as the frozen for cold; and, tho heat equal to any ordinary in Arabia may have been alreddy suffered

of the Assyrian monarchs, by the Persian, the dean has stated; and Alexander's general diligence of inquiry, and ernestness in improvement of his dominions, have been objects of his warm praise. Alexander's engineers surely would have had no difficulty to draw water from a higher situation to a lower, for the purpose of irrigation, without obstructing the navigation. With a little more extent of observation than perhaps the very respectable critic had opportunity for, he might have seen, even within his own country, that a part of the waters of a river may be diverted for the purpose of irrigation without preventing navigation. Altogether I am quite disposed to adhere to the antient authority, that of Arrian, on which the account in the text rests.

SECT. III.

by some of the army, yet apprehension of the unexperienced circumstances of the torrid zone might heighten an indisposition to warfare there, which had been excited by memory or report of the sufferings in the Gadrosian desert. With uneasiness thus likely to have possessed many, the general offence to all of Grecian blood and language from the assumption of the Persian dress, occasionally by the king himself, and, after his example, and through his incouragement, by some of his principal officers, concurred to make dissatisfaction extensive and violent. Nor was this limited to those of the lower orders: on the contrary it appears that some, and even many, of high rank, not only were so affected, but themselves promoted the disposition: and that, among all the Greeks, Macedonians were the leaders. Great advancement, instead of satisfying, is often apt to excite ambition; and probably no man ever experienced more than Alexander what the fourteenth Lewis of France is said to have wittily complained of, that, when he conferred a favor, he provided ingratitude in one man, and discontent in twenty. It was treated as matter for indignation, that Peucestas, appointed to govern Persia, condescended to use the Persian language in speaking to the Persians. Nor was it alone offensive that Macedonians accommodated themselves to Persian manners: the allowance of the Macedonian dress, and instruction in the Macedonian discipline, and the adoption of Macedonian manners, for those of the new levies, whom the Greeks called barbarian youths, also gave umbrage. These were matters of open and loud complaint among one-another. Altogether however, in the unfortunate failure of Persian historians, it appears, even from

CHAP. LVI.

the Greek, that the just protection afforded to conquered subjects, and the denial of that plunder, habitual to the Greeks hardly less than to the Asiatic highlanders, plunder extended even to the persons of the conquered, carried off for slavery, had principally produced the already threatening spirit of discontent in the Grecian part of the army.

Alexander, not unaware of this, had not neglected preparation for meeting it. At Opis, the principal town on the Tigris, was a palatial castle, apparently such as were everywhere found at the place of residence of Persian governors of provinces, which would afford convenient opportunity for seclusion, desirable for his purpose, and means for security, which a just precaution would recommend. Arriving there about the ordinary season of the Macedonian Olympiad, he caused the festival to be proclaimed. In careful conformity then, as formerly, to the Macedonian constitution, which so far, at least, agreed with the Greek republican, he called the whole Grecian army together, and addressed it as a popular assembly: 'Their attendance,' he said, 'he had required for the purpose 'of informing them of his intention immediately 'to discharge all whom age, wounds, or any infirmity disabled for farther active service, with 'ample means for those to return home who might 'desire it. But it was not his intention so to limit 'the indulgence; for any future service he desired 'only willing minds; and for these the advantages 'should be such as to make them the envy of 'others, and excite emulation among the youths at 'home, for a share in future labors and dangers.'

Arr. exp. Al. l. 7. c. 8.

Diod. l. 17. c. 109.

Numerous as the exiles were always from many of the Grecian republics, the proportion of them among the mercenaries of Alexander's army would

be likely to be large; and, for them, leave to return to their own countries, would be no boon, unless they might be protected by a powerful forein hand. Alexander therefore, according to the probable account of Diodorus, had promised them protection. Arrian's, and indeed all accounts, indicate that the leaders in the tumult were Macedonians. To go home was not their object, or, however, not their immediate object: so much he had alreddy yielded to them in India: they would now have more. Voices exclaimed, 'He no longer 'cares for Macedonians; all his favor is for bar- 'barians; Arachosians, Parthians and others, of 'names even unknown in Greece.' Some, in terms of complete mutiny, went so far as to vociferate 'Dismiss us all, and, for your associate in 'future campains, take your father;' alluding to his pretension, or the pretension put about for him, to be the son of Jupiter Ammon. SECT. III.

Alexander's conduct now, whether to be successful or not, was decisive. Leaping from the tribunal on which he was sitting, he rushed among the multitude, accompanied by his principal generals and his guard; the former no doubt prepared for such a measure; and, directing his view wholly to the Macedonians, he caused thirteen to be apprehended. This being done, apparently without resistance, he ordered them to be led away, and, as liable under military law, immediately executed. Ascending then again the tribunal, he spoke to the surprized multitude thus: 'I do not address you 'now to divert you from your eagerness to return 'home. All are welcome to go, as far as depends 'on me. But I desire first to remind you of what 'you were when you left your home, and to what 'circumstances you are now advanced. In doing Arrian, l. 7. c. 9 & 10.

CHAP. LVI.

'this, as in all duty bound, I must begin with 'acknowleging my obligations and yours to my 'father, both incalculably great.' He proceeded then to mention briefly the poverty of the Macedonian people, and their distressed circumstances at Philip's accession, and the various improvements under him: security provided for the land against invasion, before always apprehended, frequently suffered; commerce florishing in the ports, formerly all in the hands of enemies, now restored to the kingdom; the Macedonian capital become the resort of the wealthy from all parts; and, finally, the king elected general-autocrator of all the republics of Greece for war against Persia, and Macedonia raised to the first dignity among Grecian states. 'Succeeding my father,' he then continued, 'inheriting from him that kingdom, so 'improved for the people, but through exertions 'which left the treasury poor; some gold and silver 'plate in it, but in money not sixty talents (about 'twelve or thirteen thousand pounds sterling) yet 'loaded with a debt of five hundred talents, I 'found means to borrow eight hundred. Such 'was the fund with which, together with you, I 'left Macedonia; which was not yet among 'wealthy countries, tho alreddy affording, for its 'inhabitants, subsistence in security. Soon then, 'through our success in arms, Ionia, Æolia, 'Phrygia and Lydia, were added to your domi-'nion and made subsidiary. Cœlosyria and 'Palestine became yours, and, in the same cam-'pain, the wealth of Egypt and Cyrene followed 'without contest. Mesopotamia, Babylon, Susa, 'Bactria, the Persian treasure, the wealth of India, 'and the command of the ocean beyond, are now 'yours. From among you, satraps, generals,

SECT. III.

'officers in all degrees have risen. And, after so 'many labors in which I have shared, what dis- 'tinguishes me from you but this purple robe 'and this diadem? Individually I have nothing. 'Nobody can show treasures of mine which are 'not yours, or preserved for your sakes. For my 'own use, indeed, I want no more than you pos- 'sess. I sleep in the same manner, I eat the 'same food; or rather, I think, I fare less luxu- 'riously than some of you; and I am sure I have 'sometimes watched for you, when you have 'slept in all quiet. Who among you can say 'that he has borne more fatigue for me than I for 'him? Look well now among you, and see who 'can show more scars from wounds, not only 'from weapons striking from afar, but also from 'those used in close action. For your glory and 'your wealth I have led you conquerors over 'plains and mountains, lands and seas. These 'labors completed, the recent business has been 'of another kind. Nuptials have been joyfully 'celebrated, and marriage portions have been 'given with all. Tho your ordinary pay has been 'beyond all former custom great, and large prize- 'money has accrued to many, yet to obviate un- 'easiness, liable to arise from extravagance perhaps 'thus excited, all verified debts have been paid, 'without inquiry why they were contracted, and 'without memorial kept of by whom. To all who 'have distinguished themselves by their merits, 'honors have been added, such as will be a testi- 'mony for them even to late posterity. None 'have fallen in battle who, beside the ordinary 'glory of such a death, have not had their merit 'recorded by a splendid funeral and lasting monu- 'ments. Brazen statues have been erected at their

CHAP. LVI.

'homes to many; and their parents and families 'have not honor only, but the advantage of immu- 'nity from those burthensome offices required in all 'civil communities. This then remains for my 'gratification, that, under my lead no man has 'perished in dishonorable flight. It was my inten- 'tion to have sent home all those less qualified for 'farther service, the envy of mankind. But as it is 'the desire of all to go, go all, and tell those at 'home that your king Alexander, who has con- 'quered the Persians, Medes, Bactrians and Sa- 'cians, and reduced under obedience the wilder 'nations of Arees, Arachotes, Drangies, Choras- 'mies, Parthians and Hyrcanians; who has led 'you over Caucasus and through the Caspian gates, 'and across the rivers Oxus and Tanaïs, and not 'only afterward the Indus, which no conqueror 'ever before passed except the god Dionysus 'Bacchus, but also, beyond the Indus, over the 'Hydaspes, the Akesines, and the Hydraotes; and 'would have crossed the Hyphasis, but that your 'spirits failed; who nevertheless entered the ocean 'by both mouths of the Indus, who led an army 'across the Gadrosian desert, which no leader 'before ever attempted to cross but to the destruc- 'tion of his army; who so equipped and provided 'his fleet that, at the same time, it made its way 'along the inhospitable coast of the ocean, and 'through the difficult navigation of the Persian 'gulph, so that fleet and army have together hailed 'him conqueror at Susa; tell at home, I say, that 'having shared with him in all glories thus far, 'you then deserted him, turning him over to the 'care and guard of barbarians, whom, with him, 'you had conquered. Such is the account you 'will have to give, for your honor among men,

'and for the favor you would pray for from the 'gods.' SECT. III.

Having thus spoken he descended hastily from the tribunal, went to his palace, and neither on that, nor on the following day, admitted any one to his conversation. Apparently waiting for concessions which were not made, he would not implicate, in disfavor with the army, those of his principal officers who concurred with him in the more liberal opinion of the propriety, or rather necessity, of admitting the many millions conquered to some fellowship in common rights with the comparatively few thousands of conquerors; he would take the whole responsibility upon himself. On the third day, nothing conciliatory from the army having reached him, he proceeded to measures for dispensing with their favor. Sending for the principal of those orientals of different provinces, who, for the convenience of a common name, are often described together by that of Persians, he distributed the chief command of the several bodies of his army among them; and he limited the privilege of saluting him, in the Macedonian manner, with a kiss, to those who, by marriage, were become his kinsmen. Having before admitted many Persians into his body of royal-companion cavalry, he now formed a body of royal-companion infantry, composed entirely of orientals. A distinguished body of Persians, who, from their silvered shields, had the title which the Greeks translated into their own language, argyraspides, he took among his guards; and to another Persian body he gave a Macedonian title.

In this, altogether perhaps the most difficult and distressing business of Alexander's short but eventful life, he completely succeeded. Arrian's

CHAP. LVI.

concise account implies that he implicated in disgrace, on the occasion, every Macedonian of his army; unless those become his relations, by taking oriental wives, were allowed to retain the privilege of the Macedonian salutation, in common with the Persians in the same manner connected with him. It is indeed expressly stated that, in returning to his palace, after his speech to the army, he was attended by the lords of the body-guard and his usual companions, tho not by the crowd of followers, which it seems had been ordinary. The nerves of the mutiny had been at once palsied by the bold measure of seizing the ring-leaders and sending them to immediate execution. When the king left the assembly, the Macedonians, Arrian says, stood silent, as men at a loss for measures. Those looked to for leading being disposed of, and no others putting themselves immediately forward, the multitude remained quiet.

How far, in the extreme case of mutiny, Alexander's decisive measure, directing capital punishment by his simple mandate, was justifiable under Macedonian law, for the scantiness of our information concerning that law, we have means only for conjecture. In the different republican states the military law would differ, and in some would be more, in others less regular. An Athenian general might not unreasonably fear to exert the most warranted and even necessary authority over Athenian soldiers, before whom, as his soverein judges, on returning home, he was, in regular course, to answer for the whole of his conduct in command, and whose simple displeasure might condemn him to banishment, or death. The several rights of Spartans, Lacedæmonians, and Laconians in the Lacedæmonian states, remain little explained by

Ch. 18. s. 5. & elsewhere of this History.

SECT. III.

antient writers; but a very remarkable instance of the most despotic exercise of the power of capital punishment by a Lacedæmonian commander, not of regal rank, over those other republican Greeks, allies of Lacedæmon, has been formerly noticed, as related by the cotemporary Athenian historian, Xenophon. To assist judgement then, in Alexander's case, the analogy, also formerly noticed, between the Greek republican governments of most regular form, and the Roman, which was an improvement on them, may deserve consideration. On military service the Roman consuls claimed, and sometimes exercised, a summary jurisdiction in capital cases; and, under a special commission from the senate, in civil disturbances also. The dictator's authority, by his simple command to his lictor, to inflict death by the axe, seems never to have been controverted. The failure of imputation against Alexander, on this occasion, among extant antient writers, all advocates for free constitutions, must be considered as evidence in his favor; tho of the less weight as, among the antient republics, the most atrocious irregularities in civil contest were familiar. The completeness of his success in the following reconciliation with his offended army, reported by all, affords perhaps the best testimony that he was, in general estimation at the time, warranted in his measures. If there remained, as doubtless would be, discontented men, their murmurs were so little heard as to have passed unnoticed in extant antient history. On the other hand, such was at least the apparent general change of mind, that the whole repentant army in a manner besieged the palace with expressions of regret for past misconduct, and intreaty for restoration of their king's favor; grounding

Ch. 20. s. 5. of this History.

Diod. l. 17. c. 109. Arr. exp. Al. l 7. c. 11. Plut. v. Al. p. 704. Q. Curt. l. 10. c. 4.

CHAP. LVI.

their arms, as supplicatory offerings, and requesting admission; with a declaration that they would surrender the surviving leaders of the mutiny, if required, but would not rest day or night till Alexander would forgive them.

Perhaps allowance should be made for some partiality in the account of the generals, whose report Arrian followed. Not only, however, all the historians nearly concur in it, but insuing matters prove that, even if the picture be a little inflated, Alexander's conduct on the occasion was most politic, as well as most vigorous and most successful. The king, Arrian says, yielding at length to the general wish, strongly manifested, the palace-gate was opened, and he appeared at it. A general cry of lamentation immediately arose from the army. The king shed tears, and they shed tears. He was advancing, as if with the purpose of speaking, when Callines, an elderly officer of the royal-companion cavalry, addressed him thus: 'O king! it grieves the Macedonians 'that, since you have made Persians your kins-'men, and allow them the honor of saluting you 'with a kiss, that honor is denied to Macedo-'nians.' How far this may have been prepared we cannot know, but Alexander was reddy with a most politic answer. As if he knew of none ill-disposed toward him, 'Not so,' he said; 'on 'the contrary I consider you all as my kinsmen, 'and so henceforth will always call you.' On this Callines proceeded to salute him with a kiss, and the same honorary freedom was denied to none. Taking up their arms then, with loud hoorahs they returned, singing the pæan, to their camp.

Previous arrangement with the principal Macedonians and principal Persians, and a perfect

understanding of both with the king, is clearly enough marked in what followed. A sacrifice was offered to those gods, to whom, according to the historian's phrase, the Macedonian laws prescribed such reverence from the chief of the nation. The sacrifice would, in usual course, afford a feast for the whole army. After this, a regular supper was served, at which, if report might be credited, and the manuscripts giving that report should be trusted for notation of numbers, nine thousand persons were entertained. Alexander presiding, the principal Macedonians sat next him, and below them the principal Persians; who were prepared, it thus appears, to hold rank below the Macedonians. Others, of both nations, then took place in corresponding order.

After this conciliatory festival, all Greeks, whether Macedonians or of the republics[5], who desired their discharge, received it, and they are said to have been about ten thousand; tho few, it is implied, if any, put themselves forward for it who were not, through age or wounds, or failing health, proper objects. Every man, beside his regular pay, which was to be continued till his arrival at home, was presented with a talent, above two hundred pounds sterling, as a gratuitous reward for his services. Those who had children by Asiatic wives were required to leave them, lest the extreme

[5] The Greek writers themselves wanted terms for readily and clearly distinguishing Greeks of the kingdoms from those of the republics: whence, in Arrian's history, all Greeks are sometimes intended to be included under the Macedonian name, as well as Macedonians under the more properly comprehensive name of Greek. In this passage he uses the Macedonian name only, to denote all who desired and received their discharge; but a following phrase clearly proves that he meant to include all Greeks of the army.

CHAP. LVI.

aversion, common among the Greeks, to admit any of forein blood to share with them in civil rights, might be so excited as to occasion disturbance; Alexander however promising to provide that those children should have a Grecian education, and that, when they should be grown up, he would himself be their conductor to Macedonia, and introducer to their fathers, and to the rights of the children of such fathers. Here, as what follows in Arrian's account implies, Macedonians only are intended; Alexander having been careful to avoid, as Philip before him, to interfere with the meerly civil concerns of the Grecian republics, till recently, urged by the circumstances of the moment, he had pledged himself in favor of the republican exiles in his army who should desire to return home, that they should be received in their several states. Seemingly aware of disturbance hence likely to arise, and which actually did insue, he avoided now to extend his ingagement to them. The appointment of Craterus to be commander for the march home, with a commission moreover to supersede Antipater in the viceroyalty of Macedonia, Thrace, and Thessaly, and the protectorship, such is Arrian's expression, of the freedom of the Greeks, appears to have been grateful to all; Craterus being not higher in the king's confidence than in esteem with the Grecian forces, whose interest he had always favored in preference to that of the new Asiatic levies.

Here then it may deserve observation that, throughout the expedition, in such various trying circumstances during so many years, tho discontents of both are recorded, no failure of harmony between the republican Greek troops and the Macedonian is marked in any account. Now all

the dismissed appear to have set out, on their long and difficult march, with a general spirit of perfect loyalty; shedding tears, says the historian, at the ceremony of parting with their victorious prince who sympathized with them[6]. SECT. III.

SECTION IV.

Affairs in Greece.

PREVIOUSLY to this fortunate accommodation with his Grecian army, Alexander's situation appears to have been highly critical; and some knowlege of SECT. IV.

[6] Curtius continues to show that he had before him the same authorities which Arrian followed. He has described the mutiny, the seizure and execution of the thirteen ringleaders, the immediate stupor of the army, and its insuing repentance and lamentation and solicitation, as if he had, in his flowery way, translated from the same Greek originals from which Arrian drew. But he has added some things, and differently reported others, from writers adverse to Alexander's fair fame; himself not adverse to it, but as he was led by his constant eagerness for high coloring, strong contrast, and great scenic effect. Hence his eagerness to relate, as certain, transactions the most secret, and his boldness to answer for words spoken either in the greatest privacy, or amid the completest tumult, with such carelessness for consistency and probability that Horace's *incredulus odi* cannot fail to be the frequent sentiment of his more considerate readers; who nevertheless perhaps may find amusement even from his extravagancies. A man of his talents of course would adapt these to the taste of his age; and thus they may, possibly, in some degree, assist those curious to ascertain his age. Probably those extravagancies are not wholly his own, but derived from Grecian writers; yet may have been heightened in many instances by his fondness and talent for high coloring. It seems to me, tho meer conjecture, not improbable, that Curtius's work, recent and in vogue, was among those which, as Arrian says, stimulated him to compile and publish a history of Alexander from the best authorities.

CHAP. LVI.

the circumstances probably had incouraged the promoters of the mutiny. He proceeded from Opis still northward into Media; wide of the direction homeward, so long since generally desired by the Grecian part of the army; with what view direct information fails; a vacuity, fortunately not large, and the only one in Arrian's valuable narrative, being found here in every known antient copy. But it is obvious that in that extensive, fruitful, and populous country, the favored seat of the Persian monarchs, critically situated in the middle of the empire, bordering southward on its richest and most submissive provinces, northward on those which had been far the most difficult to conquer, itself the seat of a rebellion while he was in India, his presence was likely to be urgently wanted. Aware of the importance of securing an interest among the warlike people of those northern countries, we have seen him remarkably attentive to ingage the attachment of the men of most influence among them. Should this fail, a Grecian force only could be depended upon for maintaining a conquest on which the quiet of the rich southern countries, and even the communication with India, unless by sea, depended.

Meanwhile matters had occurred, both in Macedonia and in republican Greece, of a kind to excite anxiety. Alexander had always treated his mother, the dowager queen, with great attention and respect. But he had intrusted her with no share in the regency, while she reckoned she ought to have been, in his absence, chief, if not sole administratrix of the royal authority. Antipater, who, as far as appears, was, for his honesty, as well as his ability and diligence, worthy of the late king's esteem and his successor's confidence,

was disturbed by her attempts at interference. Mutual complaints passed from them to Alexander; and her charges against the viceroy went so far as to impute to him the purpose of rebellion. In these delicate circumstances it seems to have been a fortunate opportunity, which Alexander judiciously used, for preventing the inconvenience of farther difference between them. The declining health of Craterus afforded reason for sending that valuable officer home, in command of the large body of returning invalids; and this urgency for parting with the general, in whose military talents he had long shown the highest confidence, afforded cause, honorable to Antipater, for requiring him to supply the place thus vacated, and, instead of commanding the comparatively small kingdom, under the soverein at a distance, to direct, with him, the affairs of the new Macedonian empire. SECT. IV.

In republican Greece, at the same time, unquiet spirits had been stirring; incouraged, like those in office in Asia, by accounts of the distance to which Alexander was carrying his arms, and the hope that he would never return. The scrupulous attention of Philip, while he lived, and of Alexander afterward, to avoid offence to the irritable spirit of republicans, and especially of that large portion of them which anxiously desired their patronage, is largely indicated. That the leaders of the adverse party, avowedly taking subsidies for their states, took also notoriously presents and pensions for themselves, from the great enemy of the Grecian name and of free constitutions, the despot of Asia, while they were imputing corruption to their opponents, remains abundantly asserted. If then some indulgence for the ordinary effect of party-spirit may be allowed to the Greeks, yet that so large a

CHAP. LVI.

majority of modern writers on the subject should have concurred, not only in railing against the Macedonian kings as the oppressors of the free, but in eulogy of their opponents so notoriously the hired associates of a despot, as the asserters of independency, is matter not incurious in the history of litterature[7]. Pre-ingaging thus the modern public mind, they have provided some hazard for the writer who desires to do equal justice. Fortunately however for the character of the Macedonian princes, and their party among the republics, testimony remains, even from their opponents, ample to overbear at least modern calumny. It is indeed remarkable, and, even after allowance for the tendency of fervent party-spirit to lead men into contradictions, appears matter for wonder, that the testimony of all antiquity, and even of those most zealous in the democratical cause, admits the patriotism of Isocrates, and the rigid virtue of Phocion; who, always, in opposition to Demosthenes and the Persian interest, were steddy to the Macedonian. For a very extensive preference, among the Grecian republics, of the Macedonian supremacy to the Persian, we have observed evidence from Demosthenes himself.

The death of Memnon, perhaps relieving to Demosthenes, so far as it removed an overpowerful rival for the lead of the Persian interest in Greece,

[7] This, as observed in former notes, has been carried farther by learned men of the continent than of our own country; unless the compiler of the chronology of the Antient Universal History should be excepted; who, taking upon himself to go far beyond his proper office of referring to the valuable work for which he was employed, has reported, from the stores of his own learning and judgement, many, extravagancies of fact and character, as if to be found in that work, which the better judgement of its authors had wholly avoided.

SECT. IV.

was a very severe blow to the party. Their hopes however rose again, together with those of Demosthenes, on assurance that the king of Persia was advancing in person, from the interior provinces, toward Lesser Asia, at the head of an army formidable, not only by its numbers, and the just estimation of its large proportion of cavalry, but still more by having, among its numbers, a powerful body of Greeks their friends. The event of the insuing battle of Issus, with the rapidly following conquest of Syria, Phenicia, Cyprus, and Egypt, by the Grecian prince whom they opposed, brought them again low; and their hopes must have been finally extinguished, had the conqueror accepted the terms offered by the Persian king. But his determination still to pursue conquest eastward, beyond the great Desert, afforded new prospect. The body of friendly Greeks, remaining in the Persian king's service, was yet considerable for number, and eminent for faithful attachment to the cause in which they were ingaged; and, for the Persian party in Greece, of still greater consideration on account of the Persian king's confidence in it, which insured their importance with him. Communication indeed with that body, as well as with their ministers yet attending the Persian court, would be now difficult and hazardous, yet probably not wholly precluded. But the insuing victory of Arbela, and the consequent submission of Babylonia, Susiana and Persis, were again stunning blows. Nevertheless, while Darius lived, and Grecian troops remained in his service, and the ministers of the party still attended and were respected at his court, hope of advantage was not wholly extinct. A Persian dynasty might yet be maintained on the north of Caucasus, or, what

Ch. 50. s. 3. of this History.

CHAP. LVI.

would be all they desired, a dynasty hostile to Alexander. Far more than the death of Darius then, the surrender of those faithful Greeks would be discouraging to them, and yet their perseverance remained unabated. Even their signal defeat at their own doors, in that battle in which the king of Lacedæmon, Agis, lost his life, did not reduce them to final dejection. Information that the ardent spirit of the youthful conqueror led him to persist in pursuit of endless conquest gave them new incouragement.

Meanwhile how moderately Alexander's vicegerent Antipater, tho reported to have been a man of a severe temper, had used the victory by which peace, disturbed by the ambition of the king of Lacedæmon in combination with Demosthenes, was restored to Greece, is evinced by facts, which the flatterers of democracy have blazoned, as, for them, matter for boasting and triumph. We have observed it become common, among the Grecian republics, to testify the general sense of eminent public merit, by a popular decree for the honorary reward of a golden crown, to be placed on the head of the meritorious person in solemn public pomp. This honor we have farther seen, in the testimony of Demosthenes, offered by the democratical republics of Argos and Megalopolis to Philip king of Macedonia. The Athenian people had been in the habit of so honoring their own fellowcitizens, popular favourites; and, in the wildness of democracy, had gone to such excess in it, that, in some favorable moments, prudent men had found opportunity to persuade the multitude to inact laws for restraining their own improvidence. It was forbidden to propose a crown for any man actually holding office, or till, after its

Ch. 40. s. 2. of this Hist.

Æsch. de Cor. init.

SECT. IV.

conclusion, he had rendered an account of his administration, and received, what our law terms, his quietus; and it was further inacted that, if a crown were decreed by the council, it should be presented only in the council-hall; if by the people, then only in the square called the Pnyx, the ordinary place for holding assemblies of the people. Moreover, for the prevention of irregular and ill-considered decrees, it had been made penal, as we have observed formerly, to propose any alteration of an established law, without the previous measure of procuring its repeal. These provisions were obviously wise; worthy of the republic of which Solon had been the legislator. But, in an absolute democracy, which was not Solon's constitution, such precautions were ineffectual. Instances had been numerous of contravention of those salutary laws; and, what was everybody's business, being that of no one man more than another, no prosecution following, no punishment had followed.

Such was the state of things when, between the first and second Phocian wars, while the contest was warmest between the parties of Chares and Demosthenes on one side, and Isocrates and Phocion on the other, Ctesiphon, an eminent member of the former, confiding in its support, had ventured to propose that a golden crown should be presented to Demosthenes, tho then holding the office of superintendant of repairs of the city-walls, and, in virtue of that office, receiving from the treasury all the money issued for the service; and moreover that it should be presented, not in the Pnyx, where, unless when some party-purpose called for the exertion of conflicting interests, attendance was commonly small, but in the theater

CHAP. LVI.

of Bacchus, on the first day of the representation of tragedies in the feast of the Dionysia, when it would not fail to be large. The offence to the law being, in this measure, glaring, Æschines entered a prosecution against Ctesiphon, stating the penalty at fifty talents, more than ten thousand pounds sterling. But, whether restrained by the moderation of his party, or its weakness, and the consideration that an unsuccessful effort would tend to its injury, he carried the business at that time no farther. We have alreddy seen that his opponents, if not then alreddy holding, soon after obtained a decisive superiority; inabling them to lead the republic to the crisis which ended in their complete discomfiture at the battle of Chæroneia. According to most writers of the Demosthenic party Philip then commanded Athens. Much, certainly, came into his power; yet, such was his forbearance, that in the short interval before his death, Demosthenes again obtained an ascendancy, which, on occasion of the monarch's assassination, he used, as also formerly seen, insultingly. Taking then the lead in again exciting war among the republics, he forced those adverse to the dominion of his party to seek refuge in the patronage of Philip's youthful successor. Again brought low by Alexander's success at Thebes, the great orator fled, not from the vengeance of the conqueror, but from the indignation of his fellowcitizens.

Ch. 44. s. 3. of this History.

Whether then, through the usual moderation, or the over-scrupulousness, of Phocion and his party in Athens, or through negligence of the Macedonian government, or instructions from its absent king to avoid interference in the internal politics of any republic, tho in his office of captain-general accountable for the peace of all, there was

indulgence, clearly rather extreme, for agitators, in Athens and throughout Greece. When that party among the republics which relied upon the captain-general, as formerly they had been accustomed to rely on the imperial republic of the day, Lacedæmon, Athens, or Thebes, for support, was most seriously threatened, Antipater was slow to interfere. Perhaps difficulties arose for him, which remaining information will not enable us to appreciate. By a novelty in the ever-troubled political system of that eminent yet not fortunate nation, Lacedæmon, for preceding centuries the determined enemy of democracy, at one time successful in abolishing it throughout the republics of Greece, Thrace, and Asia, now, under an ambitious and apparently popular king, became leader in its cause. Alexander, when in Egypt, had been apprized of this; and he was moreover apprized that Athens was wavering, parties there being nearly balanced; insomuch that it became doubtful whether those two rival republics, which had successively tyrannized over all the others, might not now combine to recover the sovereinty in partnership. Nevertheless Antipater was unprepared to meet the growing storm. His difficulty seems to have been that ordinary in confederacies, the difficulty of procuring simultaneous, and universally reddy exertion; for which it is not likely that he had the advantage of Philip's popularity or authority, or perhaps talent. The dissolution of the adverse league nevertheless being effected by the battle in which the Spartan king fell, the insuing moderation of the Macedonian confederacy toward the vanquished was beyond all example when a republic, whether democratical or aristocratical, Athens, Thebes, or Lacedæmon, held the supre-

SECT. IV.

Ch. 49. s. 1. of this history.

Ch. 50. s. 1. of this history.

CHAP. LVI.

macy. The boast of Demosthenes remains, in his own words, that he had been the leading agitator, under whose advice and stimulation the Spartan king had acted; yet he was allowed not only to live undisturbed in Athens, but to prosecute his measures for maintaining a commanding influence there. Immediately however open disturbance could offer no hope for him or his party: and thus, without any reported interference from Macedonia, the republics injoyed such unusual quiet for several years, that the ordinary troubles of the country offered nothing prominent enough for the notice of any of those recorders of military events whose works remain to us. But, during this freedom from the miseries of war, in the unrestrained licentiousness of popular governments, political contest ran high, and eminently in Athens, where, producing what has singularly interested the republic of letters through all following ages, it has been the means of preserving to us some important political information.

Demosth. de Cor.

While Alexander, alreddy master of the greatest and richest part of the Persian empire, was yet ingaged in his arduous struggle with the northern nations, if not alreddy moved toward India (for the time is not exactly ascertained) Æschines prosecuted his accusation of Ctesiphon, after it had rested, it is said, ten years. The party of Demosthenes then held the superiority in Athens, and that of Phocion was uneasy under it. No hostility however toward Macedonia, or toward regal government, appears to have been at the time avowed. On the contrary, complimentary intercourse, common among the Greeks, and similar to that of modern times, was maintained by the Athenian government; probably with the Mace-

Plut. v. Demosth.

donian court, as we are assured it was with a court nearly connected with the Macedonian. Alexander king of Molossis, or, as, in consequence of extension of the dominion or influence of the Molossian kings, they have been often intitled, of Epirus, losing his life in war in Italy, an embassy was sent, with compliments of condolence, in the name of the Athenian people, to his widowed queen Cleopatra, sister of the great Alexander king of Macedonia; and a friend of Demosthenes, Ctesiphon, was the chosen ambassador on the occasion. SECT. IV. Æsch. de cor.

Ctesiphon was recently returned from that embassy, when Æschines resumed the prosecution against him for his illegal conduct, in moving the decree for a crown to Demosthenes. Why this time of prevalence of the adverse party was chosen for the hazardous undertaking, is marked in the opening of the prosecutor's speech; and confirmation is found in his adversary's reply. Addressing the soverein multitude, 'you see, Athenians,' said Æschines, 'the arrangement of the forces of my 'opponents; you have been witnesses to the solici-'tations in favor of extraordinary and irregular 'measures. I, on the contrary, offer myself to you 'now, desirous only that the council, and you, the 'assembly, should abide by the constitution, and 'support the wise regulations which Solon estab-'lished for the order of your proceedings: namely, 'that the oldest citizen should first ascend the 'bema; that he should declare gravely, and undis-'turbed by noise and tumult, what his experience 'led him to believe the assembly, for the republic's 'good, should decree; that then, others, who might 'desire it, should deliver their opinions, with a pre-'ference always for the older. This salutary provi-'sion for order having been overborne, decrees Æsch. de cor. p. 381. ed. Reiske.

CHAP. LVI.

'against law we have seen often proposed; presi-
'dents, not regularly chosen, have declared the
'majority of votes in favor of what the majority
'disapproved; and, if any objection was made to
'such irregularities, and a councillor, duly chosen
'to the presidency, claimed his right, he has been
'threatened with citation before the people. Thus
'the sober judgement of the courts, provided, by
'the wisdom of Solon, for the security of indi-
'vidual subjects of the republic, have been su-
'perseded by passionate decrees of the general
'assembly; orators, confiding in the experienced
'efficacy of such threats, assume soverein power;
'neither the laws nor all the magistrates can re-
'strain them; and the constitutional right of the
'ward, presiding, in its turn, to stay the proceed-
'ings, is utterly disregarded.'

Evidently enough this accusation of Ctesiphon was adopted as a mode of attacking the great leader of his party, Demosthenes. Ctesiphon having grounded his decree of honor on that orator's merit toward the republic, it has been the object of the adverse orator to show that Demosthenes was wholly unworthy, not only of that honor, but of any public esteem. It is remarkable then that, in favor of that authority among the republics, formerly conceded to the imperial people of Athens and Lacedæmon, and since given, in more constitutional form, successively to Philip and Alexander, he has not ventured a word; even alliance with Macedonia he has avoided to mention as desirable; and this is the more remarkable as, even before that kingdom had acquired any great pre-eminence, Isocrates had boldly and zealously contended, not only for the alliance, but also for the presidency of the king of Macedonia,

SECT. IV.

as highly desirable for the welfare of the Athenian people and the Greek nation. But Æschines reproached Demosthenes with having been, notoriously, the pensioner of the Persian king, and moreover, at times, the flatterer of both Philip and Alexander. He then mentioned, as recent matter, or even actually going forward, that, tho, by the Athenian law, it was a capital crime for individuals to hold correspondence with forein potentates, yet Demosthenes and his associates not only corresponded by letters with foreiners in power, both in Europe and in Asia, but received from them what the orator calls embassies[8], at their own houses, and even boasted of such communication. In such contempt, he said, were the laws and constitution held by the demagogues who commanded a majority in the general assembly: so reddy was that tumultuous soverein to use its tyrannical power for dispensing at pleasure with its own inactments.

Æsch. de cor. p.641.

The reply of Demosthenes is a wonderful example of eloquence, and of talent for leading such an assembly as that of the Athenian people. A long exordium, boasting of his services to the republic, and thus directing the minds of the hearers to matters forein to the accusation, has been admirably adapted to provide a favorable reception for the very weak defence to follow. That the proposer of the decree for the crown was guilty of a breach of the law, and that the orator, to whom the honor was prostituted, had never given a regular account of his disposal of the public money intrusted to him, is not denied[9]. But,

[8] Πρεσβεῖαι ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς ἰδιωτικὰς οἰκίας.

[9] That warm admirer of the politics of Demosthenes, the learned and ingenious translator, Auger, has been candid

CHAP. LVI.

what particularly deserves observation here is that, while Æschines feared to speak in favor of the Macedonian connection, Demosthenes did not scruple to abuse the father of the conquering Alexander, and all connected with him, as freely as before the battle of Chæroneia; thus completely proving the hypocrisy and falsehood of the lamentations of antient writers, adopted and even exaggerated by many modern, on the fall of the freedom of Greece under the Macedonian supremacy. To judge of some assertions of Demosthenes, in answering some in his adversary's speech, it should be known what that adversary might have replied, had the course in the Athenian courts permitted; or what an able chief justice, moderating between the parties, might have remarked. But, the Athenian courts acknowleging no such moderator, reply to the accused was denied to the accuser. Indeed, for the numbers composing their courts, all standing, and in the open air, that length of discussion, which a jury of twelve, sitting under shelter, may well allow, was inadmissible. Even had it not been so, yet, in the circumstances of the Athenian constitution, altered as it was from that of Solon, and with the Athenian many, commonly eager for prosecution of any of their superiors, the denial may have been rather an advantageous and even necessary check upon the malevolent or sinister views of accusers, and altogether desirable for well-disposed subjects. Under this rule therefore, Æschines had to contend with the same disadvantage as the foremost speakers in the ordinary debates in our house of commons; he must anticipate his adver-

enough to notice this in his summary of the speeches on the crown.

sary's defence, and reply to it, as he best might, by conjecture; and to this accordingly we find him, with great ingenuity, directing much of his celebrated speech. SECT. IV.

A law was in force, to which the multiplicity and frequent frivolousness of accusation among the Athenians had given occasion, subjecting an accuser, who did not obtain a fifth of the voices of the multitudinous court, to banishment. Æschines, no doubt, had considered this law, as well as his own situation in Athens under the ruling faction. It is exultingly said, by the friends of the politics of Demosthenes, antient and modern, that he failed of obtaining one fifth of the voices of the Athenian people. But Æschines would hardly have ventured to prosecute his accusation without assurance of support from the party which looked to Phocion as its head; and the circumstances, not reported by antient writers, must have been extraordinary which could either have reduced that party so low, or could have led it so to neglect a powerful member in need. But, as the previous uneasiness of his situation, under the sway of the adverse party, appears to have been the stimulation for Æschines to the hazardous undertaking, so, after the loss of his cause, for which probably he would be prepared, Athens could be no pleasant, nor perhaps safe, residence for him. However, as so many men, eminent, by their civil and military services, some compelled by a decree of the despotic soverein, others choosing among evils, had done before him, he quitted Athens, and passed the rest of his life partly in Rhodes, partly in Ionia; leaving the anti-Macedonian party in command of the republic's politics. From such a

Plut. v. Demosth. p. 857.

Ibid. Diog. Laert.

CHAP. LVI.

result of that celebrated contest may be estimated the justness of the imputations against Philip and Alexander, as destroyers of the freedom of the Grecian people, tyrants over the republics. Nor does the refutation rest here; whoever will investigate the history of following times will find confirmation of it in the whole tenor of succeeding events.

The magnanimous kindness of Alexander to the friend of his earliest youth Harpalus, will be remembered; kindness carried perhaps to the extreme of rash indulgence and confidence. Harpalus, apparently of the school of Aristotle and Callisthenes, was probably a man of considerable talents, and, unlike Callisthenes, of insinuating manners. Alexander had left him, at Babylon, in the office of treasurer of his newly-acquired empire, or of a large part of it, and, according to Diodorus, satrap of Babylonia. Harpalus was among those who, speculating upon the improbability of his soverein's return, abused the trust grossly; insomuch, that, fearing now to stand the accusations reddy against him, he resolved upon a new and greater crime; involving, with direct treason, the extreme of ingratitude. Holding the first civil authority in a great and rich satrapy, and commanding the treasury, it would not be difficult for him to ingage and arm men to proceed to Greece under his orders. But, according to the probable account of Diodorus, he found soldiers with arms and discipline reddy for his purpose. For men in the unhappy condition of exiles from their republics, always very numerous, usually wandering over Greece, Thrace, Lesser Asia, Phenicia and Egypt, in search of any military service

Ch. 49. s. 1. of this History.

Diod.l.17. c. 108. Plut. Demosth. p. 857.

in which they might hope for a livelihood, the opportunity offered by Alexander's expedition would be a great relief; but especially after the battle of Issus, when the plunder of all the East came in view, it would be most inviting. Accordingly the republican Greeks in Alexander's army seem to have been, in large proportion, of this description, and those who had amassed wealth, with remaining constitutions to afford hope of injoyment at home, would be likely to desire to return home; all claiming merit which would intitle them to their captain-general's patronage for their purpose. His scruple then to interfere with the civil government of any republic would be disappointing to them. Revenge was a passion commonly warm in Grecian minds, and the view to gratify both revenge and ambition, by returning in a body capable of overbearing their domestic adversaries, under a leader whose interest was united with theirs, and whose pecuniary means were large, would stimulate them. Thus it appears to have been that Harpalus was inabled quickly to collect to the number of six thousand, armed, disciplined and zealous. Arriving with these on the Phenician coast, he procured shipping, with which he conveyed his army to the promontory of Tænarus, in Laconia, where he landed. Possibly he had hope of countenance from Lacedæmon; but, tho in this he seems to have failed, yet neither opposition to his landing, nor molestation, in probably a strong post which he occupied, are mentioned. Leaving his army then in present security there, he proceeded himself by sea to Athens.

His principal hope of ultimate success, in a desperate enterprize, if he could not gain Lacedæmon,

CHAP. LVI.

seems to have rested on his knowlege of the violence of party, which still divided Athens, and on his old connection with the leading men there, adverse to his soverein. But, in the moment, whatever the change may have been since the victory of Demosthenes over Æschines, their party had no decided superiority. For Harpalus therefore, a rebel against the captain-general of the confederated republics, even to appear in Athens, but still more to prosecute his purpose there, would be highly hazardous. His resource accordingly was to go in the character and habit of a suppliant, but carrying money in large amount. The most eminent orators of the high democratical party are said to have been reddily ingaged to advocate his cause, Demosthenes only excepted. He, at first shrinking from the hazard of the undertaking, however, at length concurred in it; induced, according to report even of writers generally favoring his cause, by increased bribery, of which Plutarch has not scrupled to relate the particulars. But as it remains unsaid how these became known, justice may require the observation that anxiety to maintain his connection and influence with the leading men of his party may have been a sufficient motive. However, whether through improved interest of Phocion's party, or mistrust of the character of the suppliant among their own, their interest and their eloquence in the general assembly failed; and Harpalus, in danger of being arrested, owed his escape ashipboard to the concealment and opportunity which his Athenian supporters provided for him.

Diod. l. 17. c. 108. Plut. Demosth. p. 857.

Returning then to Tænarus, which, without countenance from the Lacedæmonian government, would not be a situation for him to remain in, he

passed to Crete. That fine iland, celebrated, as we have seen, in earliest history, for the power of its princes, the excellence of its policy, and the civilization of its people, but naturally divided by its mountains, and, through the opportunities which these afforded, becoming civilly divided among many lawless communities, has been, in the more illustrious ages of Greece, almost without history. To Harpalus it appears to have been inviting as a country of pirates, among whom he and his followers might find association. Bitter disappointment to the latter, arising from early evidence of the utter inability of their leader to reälize his promises, which had raised their hopes high, seems to have produced the insuing catastrophë. Harpalus was assassinated; according to Diodorus, by one of his principal associates; yet the troops held together; all without resource if they separated, and looking for means of subsistence only from united strength, which might inable them to profit from the weakness or the contentions of others. SECT. IV. Ch. 1. s. 2. and Ch. 4. s. 2. of this History.

Meanwhile at Athens, minds being exasperated against those orators who would again have subjected the state to the evils of war with the general confederacy of the republics under the lead of Macedonia, accusation was preferred against them as having, under the influence of bribery, recommended measures highly adverse to the common welfare, and they were cited to answer for their conduct before the assembled people. Doubting then the sufficiency of their interest with the inconstant many, who with little deliberation or none, might have condemned them to banishment or death, they procured a decree, (through the exertions, it is said, principally of Demosthenes) for referring the matter to the court of Areiopagus. Avoiding thus the

CHAP. LVI.

severer sentence apprehended, that court however declared them guilty, and the fine set upon Demosthenes was of fifty talents, more than ten thousand pounds sterling. Rather then pay, if he was able, so great a sum, and live in Athens, while his adveraries ruled there, he withdrew, in voluntary banishment, to Ægina[10].

[10] Plutarch's account of this business, in his life of Demosthenes, grossly uncreditable to the great orator, is curious; rather as showing how, in antient as in modern times, political parties were given to scandalize oneanother, than as deserving credit for all the detail, even if he had all from the eminent author of the time, Theopompus, whom, for one circumstance, he has quoted.

CHAPTER LVII.

Transactions of the March through MEDIA to BABYLON. Farther Measures for improvement of Territory and extension of Commerce. Civil Regulation. Death of ALEXANDER.

SECTION I.

March into Media: Amazons: Death of Hephæstion: War with the Cossees: Measures for exploring the Caspian Sea: March to Babylon.

SECT. I.

THE loss of a small part of Arrian's narrative has deprived us of his information concerning Alexander's march from Susa into Media, and occurrences there, apparently of some importance. The principal stations however between Opis and Ecbatana remain named by Diodorus, probably from good authority. In five days the army reached Sambana, and remained there seven; but for what purpose is not said. Proceeding then, it reached Celonæ, a colony of Bœotians, who, after the celebrated battle of Platæa, flying to avoid the revenge of the Greeks, confederated for common defence, had sought and obtained the protection of Xerxes. Their descendants, driven by necessity to learn the language of the country in which they were settled, were found to have retained also much of Grecian speech, and much

Diod. l. 17. c. 110.

CHAP. LVII.

of Grecian manners. Alexander then turned from the direct road, to pass, through a tract called Bagistane, famed for both fertility and beauty, to the Nysæan plain, where was the principal stud of the Persian kings. Here, fortunately, Arrian's narrative recommences, and so holds connection with those of Diodorus and Curtius as to afford presumptive proof of their correctness concerning the matters of which his report is lost. The number of mares in that magnificent stud, he says, had commonly been a hundred and fifty thousand, but was now reduced, by robbery, or mismanagement, or both, to little more than fifty thousand[11].

At this place Atropates, satrap of Media, came to wait upon Alexander, and, according to the report of some writers, such is Arrian's phrase, presented him with a hundred women, said to be of the Amazons: skilful horsewomen, equipped in the manner of troopers; except that, instead of lances, they carried battle-axes: but that careful historian adds that no mention was made of these women by Aristobulus, or Ptolemy, or any other writer of credit; and he proceeds, 'If Atropates, reälly produced some armed horsewomen 'to Alexander, I should incline to suppose they 'were of some other barbarous nation, and not 'of that familiarly known to the Greeks, through 'tradition and fable, by the name of Amazons[12].'

[11] Our copies of Curtius agree exactly with those of Arrian concerning those numbers, and those of Diodorus differ only as they give sixty, in both places, for fifty.

[12] The various stories of people described by the name of Amazon, are among the mysteries of early Grecian history, concerning which Strabo, Plutarch and Arrian, all curious about them, have been unable to satisfy themselves. All however appear to have held that a people of that name existed, and, emigrating from Scythia, made extensive con-

SECT. I.

In the course of this march a dispute happened, necessarily distressing to Alexander, between his principal secretary, Eumenes[13], a man of superior talents, much esteemed by him, and Hephæstion,

quest in Lesser Asia. According to the geographer, they were not such determined vagabonds as the Scythians have been commonly described, for they founded some of the principal cities afterward occupied by the Greeks, Ephesus, Smyrna, Cuma, and others. But migration of hords, men, women and children, we know has been an Asiatic practice from earliest history to this day; and the remarkable instance, in western Europe, among the Gauls, in the authentic account of the ancestors of the Swiss nation by Julius Cæsar, is known to all. The Lacedæmonian women, we are assured, were required by law to be so exercised in the use of arms as to be qualified for battle among men, and some instances are mentioned of the practice. If Amazonian women were seen acting in arms among men, in an invasion of Attica, such a circumstance may have afforded to Grecian ingenuity and love of the marvellous, foundation for all that is fabulous in their history. That Amazon was a Greek name, signifying Breastless, appears to have been a late and an unfounded imagination. The father of history, where mentioning the reported invasion of Attica by the Amazons, to ascertain that they were females of whom he was speaking, has added a syllable, calling them Amazonids*; thus implying that he considered the name Amazon as applicable to men equally as to women. The absurd tale, gravely told by both Diodorus and Curtius, of Thalestris, queen of the Amazons, marching some hundred miles from her own country, between the Caspian and Euxine seas, over hardly practicable mountains, to visit Alexander in Hyrcania, utterly unworthy of political history, is yet, like some matters formerly noticed, of curiosity for the history of letters. It was no invention of those writers, or of their age, but was first propagated in Alexander's; and perhaps it may justly be reckoned less wonderful that such a story should then have some degree of popular credit, when, having been, through all previous ages, limited to their own country and the shores of the neighboring seas, the whole interior of Asia was newly laid open to the curiosity of the Greeks, than that it should have been afterward tolerated by the popular taste in the most florishing and inlightened times of the Roman empire.

Plut. v. Alex. p. 691.

[13] He is intitled by Arrian Γραμματεὺς βασιλικὸς, (Arr. exp. Al. l. 7. c. 4.) by Plutarch Ἀρχιγραμματεύς. Plut. v. Eum. init.

* Ἀμαζονίδας. Herod. l. 9. c. 27.

CHAP. LVII.

in whom he had most confidence as a sincere friend and grateful companion. This was matter for Plutarch to relate in his usual way, as if he had perfect information of the most private transactions, and of words spoken in the most private conversation. A broken sentence of Arrian, where extant copies resume his narrative, assures us that such a dispute occurred; and so much farther confirms Plutarch's account, as it indicates that Alexander interfered, and that Hephæstion, probably the younger man, submitted to his decision with rather an ill grace, Eumenes showing more liberality on the occasion.

Arrived at Ecbatana, Alexander celebrated a magnificent thanksgiving sacrifice for his various and extraordinary successes, with the added amusements of gymnic games and theätrical exhibitions. The sacrifice being a feast for the whole army, there were other feasts for more select company. Amid the hilarities here, Hephæstion was seized with a fever. It is obviously probable that the officers more immediately about Alexander's person would sometimes have very severe service. Possessing himself singular power of body, and ability to bear heat and cold and hunger and thirst, fatigue in all shapes, he would be likely to measure others by his own standard, so that those most favored by him, most emulating his exertions, would be most liable to suffer from their own. His ordinary diet, according to his own account, reported by Arrian, and according to all most authentic accounts, was abstemious; but, in times of festivity, (as it is said of him by others, and even by Arrian admitted) he would indulge, as his constitution would bear, and youth and company prompt, sometimes extravagantly. Hephæstion's

fever probably arose from a combination of fatigue frequent, exposure in bad air unregarded, extremes of heat and cold alternate, abstinence occasionally unavoidable, and, when temptation occurred, excess, at his age, not unnaturally following. It was on the seventh day of his ilness, when he seems to have been supposed convalescent, while the principal physician who had attended him was indulging in the amusement of the gymnastic games where Alexander presided, that finding appetite return, he would have a meal of meat, of which he ate heartily; and then, finding himself oppressed, and fever returning, drank a quantity of iced wine. A paroxysm insued, such that information of it was sent to Alexander, who instantly quitted the celebrity, at which he was presiding, to visit his suffering friend, but found him alreddy lifeless.

His grief on this melancholy event, marking a feeling mind, was however, according to all accounts, immoderate. Numerous stories were circulated on the occasion, and reported to posterity; writers differing in them according to their disposition to extenuate or exaggerate the failings to which so extraordinary a man, as a man, was liable. All however agree, says Arrian, that, for three days, he refused both society and food. He then ordered a funeral of extravagant magnificence; with games, after the manner of the funerals in Homer's age; in which no less than three thousand persons contended for prizes[14]. The affection of

[14] Of remaining historians, Diodorus has been very succinct on this subject, and, to his credit, simple and sober. Even Curtius has almost exactly concurred in what Arrian has reported as from authority, adding little; tho strange extravagancies, as we learn from Arrian as well as Plutarch, were circulated on the occasion. The moral philosopher indeed, in this part of his life of Alexander, seems to have been borne

CHAP. LVII.

his mind nevertheless so lasted as to cause great uneasiness to his surviving friends; whose endevors to relieve it were but incompletely successful, till, whether new circumstances occurred, or the matter was before less regarded, cause or pretence was found for recommending to him a new military expedition. In the extensive highlands, bordering northward on the plains of Media, southward on those of Susiana and Persis, was a numerous hord, the Cossees, who either had not acknowleged subjection to his dominion, or had renewed their predatory practices. His mind, lately devoted to projects for improving the condition of his subjects by arts of peace, but rendered torpid by the sudden loss of the most confidential partaker in all his councils, was roused to energy by the view to active exertion, which might contribute toward the previously conceived purpose. Winter was approaching; but the change from the summer fervor of the plains, in which he and his army had been living, to the frozen air of the snowy mountains of the Cossees, would not at all deter him. On the contrary, judging that to be the season for the most effectual warfare against them, he resolved to use it. For, in summer, the highlanders, dis-

away by his passion for fable the most extravagant, or even absurd, which might afford ground for moral reflection. It may seem that when Addison referred to Arrian and Plutarch together as the writers of clearest credit for the history of Alexander, he rather hazarded the assertion on the ground of the general reputation of both, than confided in any examination of their differences. Yet it must be said for Plutarch that, for some of his most extravagant stories, he quotes authority; which so far gives them value, as they contribute to mark the extent of that bad taste, which, under the tyranny of the Roman empire, arose, in a great degree, from deficiency of general information. For the important public occurrences Plutarch agrees with Arrian.

persing among hardly accessible rocks, might defy the pursuit of regular troops; but if, in the season in which they did not apprehend attack, he could drive them from the stores collected from their neighbor's fields, they must surrender or starve. Ptolemy, who seems, like himself, to have been indowed with superior power of limb and hardiness of constitution, was the general chiefly employed with him. The Cossees being brought to submission, his measures were what our Edward, intitled the first, pursued in Wales. Building and fortifying towns in commanding situations of their territory, and placing garrisons there, he forced them to peaceful industry for their livelihood, by denying them means for preying on their neighbours[15]. SECT. I.

The Caspian sea, one of the boundaries of Alexander's empire, imperfectly known, even in modern times, till of very late years, had been best described to the Greeks by their early historian Herodotus. Succeeding writers had given such erroneous accounts of it, that, as we have formerly observed, the supposition had obtained credit that it was open northward to the Arctic, and eastward to the Pacific ocean. Alexander's strong and apparently just curiosity led him to measures for having its extent and boundaries and means for communication ascertained. He sent Heracleides son of Argæus into Hyrcania, in the command of a body of shipwrights, to build vessels, both open and decked, for the purpose. Arr. exp. Al. l. 7. c. 16.

Probability appears, in Arrian's account, that the completion of arrangements in the Cossee country B.C. 324. Ol. 113. 4.

[15] The name of this people, according to Vincent, remains among the same mountains to this day, but without any relic of the improvement of their manners effected by Alexander.

CHAP. LVII.

was committed to Ptolemy, while in spring of the three hundred and twenty-fourth year before Christ, Alexander led the main body of the army to Babylon. No circumstance of the march is reported by any historian, till he was within thirty miles of that city, when, according to all, a very extraordinary matter occurred. A deputation from the body of Chaldean priests arrived, commissioned to represent that, as Alexander had paid just honor to their god, so their god was disposed to be favorable to him, and, accordingly, had authorized them to admonish him that to proceed to Babylon, at that time, would be unfortunate for him[16].

When, presently after the battle of Arbela, while the former soverein was yet living and yet master of half of the empire, Alexander entered Babylon, he had been received with general joy, as a deliverer rather than a conqueror. He had since shown great favor to the Babylonians. A temple, of extraordinary magnificence, raised by the Assyrian kings for the worship of Baal or Beel, or, as the Greeks and Romans wrote the name, with their added termination, Belus, signifying The Lord, had been destroyed by the Persian kings, averse to the Chaldean superstition. Alexander had directed the rebuilding of this temple with increased magnificence, and committed a large revenue to the management of the priests for the purpose. He had moreover projected great works for the benefit of the city and surrounding country; and it appears that, for the advantages of its situation, he proposed to make Babylon the capital of his Asiatic dominion. To be told then that to enter that city would be

Arr. l. 7. c. 17. Plut. Alex. Curt. l. 10. c. 4.

[16] Μὴ πρὸς ἀγαθοῦ ᾖ εἶναι τὴν πάροδον τὴν ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἐν τῷ τότε. Arr. l. 7. c. 16.

unfortunate could not but be suprizing to him, even tho aware of the motive; having received information that the rebuilding of the temple had been little prosecuted; whence he gathered that the priests, like so many others in high employment under him, speculating on the improbability of his return from the East, had been using the revenue assigned for that great work for their own profit and injoyment. Accordingly, as Arrian, always cautious of answering for words spoken, says was reported, he replied to the extraordinary admonition, or perhaps only expressed himself to the royal companions attending, by a verse of Euripides, 'He the best prophet 'is who guesses best.'

But, with his great purpose of bringing all his subjects of all religions to friendly union, and with his especial desire to hold complete his popularity in his proposed capital, it might be important to maintain a good correspondence with the Chaldean priests. Their deputies, accordingly, tho denied their first object, finding a reception altogether favorable, ventured, with what reasonable view is not obvious, to recommend to him, at no rate to proceed by the direct road, by which he would enter the city facing the west, but, if he determined to persevere, rather to make a circuit by which he would enter facing the east. They must have known, and it is unlikely that he would be without information, that to proceed by the road they indicated was impossible. Nevertheless, as Arrian assures us Aristobulus related, he conceded so far as to take that road; and possibly a prudent consideration for Grecian as well as Chaldean superstition may have determined him to this; the Greeks, generally reddy to adopt any superstitious belief not directly adverse to that in which they had been

CHAP. LVII.

educated, being especially attentive to predictions. But, having shown his army the floods and marshes which, at that season, absolutely prevented progress in the course recommended, he turned, and entered the city by the way before proposed. The people, whether informed, or not, of any pretended adverse foreboding, received him with all demonstration of joy. That he took any severe measures against the priests, for their misconduct in the charge committed to them, is not said; whence it may seem probable that he used toward them a politic forbearance[17].

SECTION II.

Embassies from Greek Republics and forein Nations. Measures for maritime Discovery and Extension of Commerce. Slavery among the Antients. Floods of the Mesopotamian Rivers, and Works to profit from them. Regulation civil and military.

THROUGHOUT the Grecian republics, not less than in Asia, but rather more, minds would be affected by the news of Alexander's return victorious from

[17] The business with the Chaldean priests was of a kind likely to be variously reported. Diodorus has been partial to them. Relating the matter in more detail than is usual with him, yet avoiding to mention the imputed peculation, he has spoken of their skill in prophecy as superior to that of the seers of his own nation. Curtius, more concise than Diodorus, appears however to have followed nearly the same authority. Plutarch has been prudently short on the subject. Arrian, generally preferring Ptolemy's account, has here deferred to Aristobulus. Indeed, if Ptolemy, as seems indicated, had been left on service in Media, the matter may have been unnoticed in his narrative. Aristobulus appears, in Arrian's quotations from him, to have been either addicted to belief in augery, or to have had his views in promoting it.

India, with, not only the whole of the Persian empire, but nations beyond, in peace acknowleging the sovereinty of the elected captain-general of the nation. Some citizen of almost every state, either of the party friendly or of the party adverse to that in the moment ruling, would have shared in the glorious achievements, either among those who first passed into Asia, or in the numerous levies which afterward reïnforced the army. At home all would have information that, as all Greeks had always been treated as fellowcountrymen in Macedonia, and especially by the late king, so now, in the progress of conquest, distinction had become less and less between Macedonians and republicans; many of the latter had been raised to very high situations, military as well as civil; men of science, and artists of every description, were especially incouraged; extension of commerce was a favorite object of the soverein, and all Asia was open for all Greeks, to seek fortune, or to settle in. The party adverse to the Macedonian supremacy would thus be nearly silenced; the zeal of the friendly would be forward; and ordinary compliments to the captain-general of the nation, who had so extended its renown, and so opened the commerce of the world to it, would not fail.

Accordingly many embassies from Grecian republics were arrived at Babylon, charged with various business; all with those compliments of congratulation, which appear to have been customary among themselves, and all with their ordinary token of gratitude for public services, presents of golden crowns. According to the probable account of Diodorus, here the more valuable as Arrian's is defective, those charged with representations concerning temples and sacred ceremonies were

Arr. l. 7. c. 19. Diod. l. 17. c. 113. Plut. v. Alex.

CHAP. LVII.

esteemed intitled to audience before those commissioned on political matters only, tho of no small importance; some to state controversies of republics with republics, and some, which seems to have been in itself of weightiest consideration, to object to the restoration of citizens, exiled in consequence of political differences. Such unfortunate men the history of the republics shows to have been always very numerous. Their restoration would be indispensable toward the establishment of that peace throughout the nation, the great object of the Athenian patriot Isocrates, which, as formerly has been observed, he blamed the magnanimous king of Lacedæmon, Agesilaus, for attempting overhastily, but for which the season, if ever to be, might seem now arrived. Those commissioned on this subject, the historian says, were last heard; probably not, tho such may seem to have been the historian's opinion, because their purpose was ungracious, but rather on account of its difficulty, and the variety of discussion to which it would give occasion. All however were received and dismissed with the honors that, among the republics were commonly esteemed gratifying[18]. The arrival

Ch. 43. s. 5. of this Hist.

[18] That the embassies were so received and dismissed Arrian says; but adds, that he could not satisfy himself what, beyond compliment, was the object of any of them. Occasion has occurred formerly to remark that Arrian, tho sometimes venturing to show a just liberality of political principle, has been altogether extremely reserved on civil matters, and especially cautious of noticing republican affairs. Plutarch, in the same age, and under the same government, an obscure individual, could venture more; but, failing of Arrian's advantage of practice in political business, and being under the disadvantage, common to both, of knowing no government, from experience, but a military despotism, which had alreddy, for a century and half, pervaded the civilized world, his politics are of no consistency, vaguely directed to recommend

SECT. II.

of these embassies, while Alexander's mind was intent upon improving his Asiatic empire, seems to have put him upon considering what might be immediately gratifying to his own nation, which he showed himself disposed always duly to respect, however he might judge it improper, or even impossible, to provide for it all the advantages which, through oppression of the conquered, were expected from him. He now renewed his inquiry for statues of the gods, and of eminent men, and whatever other spoil Xerxes, carrying from Greece, had deposited either at Babylon, or Parsagarda, or Susa, or elsewhere; and all that could be found were sent back to the cities whence they were taken[19].

But the fame of Alexander's conquests, and the known great means afforded by the mighty empire now at his command, with rumor, true or exaggerated, of his further ambitious views, would of course interest nations beyond the narrow bounds of Greece and the Grecian colonies. According to historians of his age, many such embassies waited

Arr. l. 7. c. 15. Diod. l. 17. c. 113.

republican principles, and altogether little better than a kind of barking at he knew not what.

19 There appears again in this part of Arrian's history of Alexander some indication of what has been observed in a former note of this volume, that, tho clearly intending his work for the public, he never completely prepared it for publication. In reporting Alexander's first taking possession of Susa, in his third book, he says, as it has been alreddy mentioned in its place, that among many other things brought from Greece, were the statues of Harmodius and Aristageiton, which he sent back to Athens. Here in his seventh book he mentions again those statues, as if not till now they had been sent back, without noticing his former mention of the same fact. The question when the measure took place is in some degree interesting, as it would indicate the devotion of Alexander's mind to his interest in Athens, and throughout Greece, at the time.

CHAP. LVII.

upon him at Babylon, or in his way thither. To some of these Arrian gave full credit; doubting however some and rejecting some. He mentions confidently those from Libya, and from Lucania, Brutium and Tuscany in Italy; and ground for this is obvious. The embassies from Libya probably were from the Grecian colonies on its coast, and perhaps from some neighboring Africans; to whom Alexander's favor, possessed as he was of Egypt, and commanding the eastern end of the Mediterranean sea, would clearly be important. The recent death then of his kinsman, Alexander king of Molossis, in war in Italy, might give occasion for both the friends and the enemies of that unfortunate prince there, the former to desire the protection, the latter to obviate the enmity of the great conqueror of the day. The accounts of embassies from Carthage, from Ethiopia, from Europeän Scythia, and from some Gallic and Spanish people, which the cautious historian mentions, tho with apparently less confidence, seem yet not improbable. For the connection with the Tyrians sufficed to make the Carthaginians alive to the consequences of Alexander's conquests; Ethiopia, bordering on his kingdom of Egypt, could not be wholly uninterested; and Europeän Scythia was in the habit of communicating, in war and in commerce, with both the Macedonian kingdom and the maritime Grecian republics. An embassy from Rome, the two Greek writers whom Arrian has named, had had the hardihood to assert it, he considered, I think justly, for reason more than he mentions, as meer fiction. Yet, for the desire of the more distant tribes of Spain to ingage Alexander's friendship, there is no improbability; the prosecution of the Carthaginian conquests there apparently sufficing to make them look

out, at any distance, for connection with enemies to Carthage. The Cisalpine Gauls bordering on the Triballians and Illyrians, were quite within reach for being affected with either hope or fear from the wonderful increase of the Macedonian dominion.

In chusing Babylon for the capital of his Asiatic empire, Alexander was not led, as the Persian monarchs formerly to a preference for Susa and Ecbatana, by any pleasantness of climate, or beauty of surrounding country, or its fitness for royal sports, but wholly by political considerations. It was nearly central among the nations newly owning subjection to him. The extent of rich plain around, traversed by great rivers was most advantageous for the production and conveyance of supplies for a great collected population; and, by the gulph, receiving those rivers and conveying their waters to the ocean, means were open for maritime communication unlimited. But these great means had been only prepared by nature, leaving the completion to the ingenuity and industry of man.

This now especially ingaged Alexander's attention. Much toward it indeed he had already done. Together with the shore of the ocean eastward the eastern side of the gulph had been explored. But the western side remained known almost only to the predatory hords of Arabs, its possessors, whose manners deterred the approach of strangers, and against whose hostility the Persian monarchs appear to have provided but very deficient protection for their people on land, and none for their seafaring subjects. Alexander would have discovery prosecuted around the whole of the Arabian peninsula, and provide means and security for maritime commerce, as eastward with India, so westward with Egypt, and through Egypt even with Greece.

CHAP. LVII.

Hostility on the water, hardly looked for in the way from India, was in this course to be apprehended; and he prepared accordingly. The country, within any convenient distance around Babylon, furnished no timber, fit for shipbuilding, but cypress. Of this, perhaps not the best for the purpose, he directed some vessels to be built; but the timbers for the greater part of his fleet were prepared in Phenicia, conveyed over land to Thapsacus on the Euphrates, and, being there duly put together, passed down the stream to Babylon.

In the naval battles of the Greek republics the trireme, or vessel of three benches of oars, had been the most powerful ship of war: and of such the majority, or almost the whole of contending fleets hitherto had been composed. But as, with experience, art improved, the naval architects had found means to make more powerful vessels capable of naval action in the antient way. Proceeding to four, they quickly advanced to five benches of oars; beyond which, tho vessels to carry many more hands were built occasionally for stateliness and show, yet, for naval action, all being still necessarily rowboats, none appear to have been advantageous. The Phenician builders seem to have been the first to go beyond the ordinary Grecian rate; unless, which may seem probable, they gained the plan from the Carthaginians. The vessels framed in Phenicia, and conveyed to Babylon, were two quinqueremes, three quadriremes, twelve triremes, and thirty triacontors, or vessels of thirty oars[20].

[20] I have been surprized to find my friend Sainte Croix misled to the adoption of a criticism of a French engineer, who, calculating the burthen of an antient, as of a modern, ship of war, by the hands she bore, has reckoned it impossible

SECT. II.

At Babylon then a great work was undertaken for the accommodation of a fleet. By excavation and imbankment, a port was to be formed, capable of containing a thousand vessels, unmolested by either the superfluity or deficiency of the stream, and provided with shelter for them, as usual with the antients, ashore. Meanwhile to provide crews, Miccalus, a Greek of Clazomene in Lesser Asia, was imployed to ingage seamen from Phenicia: and, it being Alexander's purpose, for the security and convenience of commercial intercourse, to establish colonies on the shores of the Persian gulph and in its ilands, the same officer was authorized to offer advantages for settlers there. To prepare then for this, three others, Archias, apparently the associate of Nearchus in the voyage from the Indus, Androsthenes, described only by his name, and Hieron of Soli in Cilicia, were sent, each in a vessel of thirty oars, to explore the Arabian side of the gulph, and proceed farther if it might be. The latter alone was successful enough, on that difficult coast, to reach the promontory, formerly described, at the mouth of the gulph; nor can it now be wonderful if, with such a vessel, single he dared not proceed, or, rather, if he thought it utterly unbecoming him to hazard farther, not only the lives of those with him, but also the information which, in going so far, on a coast before unknown, he had acquired.

that the Euphrates could carry quinqueremes from Thapsacus to Babylon. Sainte Croix, tho of the land-service, having served in the West Indies, would know modern ships of war. The engineer certainly had a very erroneous notion of the antient.

CHAP. LVII.

Ch. 23. s. 4. of this History.

The Euphrates has its sources in the highlands of Armenia, so raised above the level of the ocean that, in a latitude to expect a mild winter air, Xenophon had found, and modern travellers have confirmed his account, the severity of an arctic sky. Issuing a torrent from the mountains, into the very extensive plain of Mesopotamia, there, on a bed of clay, covered with a sandy soil, the stream formed a channel, within which, during the greater part of the year, it has continued to pass, by a course of some hundred miles, to the Persian gulph. But, as other rivers whose sources lie among lofty mountains, with the melting of snow in spring, its waters are so increased as to overflow the flat country to a very great extent. In these circumstances it was observed that the sand, otherwise barren, when saturated with water resting on the retentive clay, became highly fruitful. Accordingly art was early used to assure and extend the benefit. But about fifty miles below Babylon, on the western side, the floods found a hollow in the clay; into which the waters rushing, dispossessed the sand and became a very extensive lake; whence, with farther increase, they penetrated variously through the surrounding loose soil. Here much was lost, while much so forced its way, in the course of a gentle and hardly perceptible declivity of the land, as to form a new channel to the gulph. The greater part of the flood passing thus, the benefit of irrigation for the lands lower on the river side was lost. To provide the advantage then, or restore it, the Assyrian kings had constructed a dam across the opening toward the lake, with a vent that might be regulated, so that the land below should be duly irrigated while the superfluous water might still be discharged. The lake obtain-

ed the name of Pallacopas, and the channel toward it was called the river Pallacopas. SECT. II.

Under the Persian kings these valuable works had been neglected, and were gone far to decay. Alexander would not meerly restore but greatly improve them. For such a business very numerous hands would be wanted. According to report, thirty thousand men at one time had been employed on it. Among the Greeks, we have observed, not only such extraordinary operations, but almost the whole of the manual labor necessary for the support of mankind, was considered, even by the philosophers, as unfit for freemen, but properly imposed on their fellow-men in the condition of slaves; so that, in every republic, the slaves would out-number the freemen, and in the more florishing were many times more numerous. Among European nations of old indeed, if a more liberal system anywhere prevailed, it has failed of notice from those writers to whom we owe all extant accounts. On a former occasion it has been observed that to take slaves for the Roman markets appears to have been a chief object of Julius Cæsar's invasions of Britain; the demand being urgent for large and continual supplies of men in that wretched condition; not domestic service only, but the labors of husbandry, throughout Italy, under the Roman dominion, being committed almost wholly to slaves. Julius was certainly among the most generous and humane of Roman conquerors; yet, when he had, not without difficulty brought the people of the territory of the town now called Vannes in Brittany, to unconditional submission, he condemned all of higher rank to death, and sold the whole remaining population to slavery. Cæs. de bel. Gal.

CHAP. LVII.

Of slavery among the Asiatics, we have little from Grecian writers, and nothing from any other, excepting the Jews; whose institutions were so decidedly proposed to maintain a constant separation between them and other people, that what held among them can indicate nothing for any others. But when the kings of Assyria, successively conquerors of the Samaritans and Jews, carried, at unquestionably great expence and trouble, the former into Media, and afterward the latter into Babylonia, it would not be with the liberal and humane views which the modern Europeän law of nations, and maxims of religion and morality, require toward a conquered people, and on which their practice for many centuries has been founded. The treatment, however, of those prisoners of war, condemned to slavery, as far as light is thrown upon it, appears rather to have resembled that of the Israelites in Egypt, than to have been so inhuman as was ordinary, less indeed among the Greeks than the Romans. Yet we have full assurance from the Jewish historian that the purpose was to employ them; and the pathetic exclamation of the poet, 'By the waters of Babylon we sat down 'and wept,' may perhaps afford some confirmation to the otherwise highly probable supposition, that the great works under the direction of the Assyrian kings, which gave to the Babylonian plain the benefit, and secured it against the ravages of floods, were in large part executed by Hebrew hands.

In India, it is said, slavery, at least such as that among the Greeks and Romans, was little, if at all, admitted. But Alexander, coming there instructed in Grecian principles by Aristotle, condemned to that state some whole communities of Indians, reduced by arms to unconditional submission. Crimes

indeed were alleged, to justify such severity; and modern information, concerning the various people of that extensive country, shows it probable, that a just humanity, toward a larger portion of the population, may at least have promoted the policy, so severe toward a smaller; for the transportation of some thousands of the cast of warriors, born to the profession of robbery, and bound to die in it, could hardly fail to afford relief to many more thousands of the valuable cast of husbandmen. Nearchus, we have seen, in the course of his voyage, took prisoners; but his means for carrying them to a market were scanty. Accordingly none are mentioned till the fleet was approaching the commercial towns near the Persian gulph. What became of such unfortunate people it was not in the way of antient historians to be solicitous to tell. Probably Nearchus relieved his crews by compelling his prisoners to work at the oar, till they might be sold at Mosarna, Badis, or Harmoza. But many thousands might be subsisted while attending the march of the army, under Craterus, from India through the fruitful countries northward of the great desert, and probably would be afterward employed on Alexander's great public works.

In some degree to indicate the value of those works, and so assist toward a just estimate of the great conqueror's character and policy, a summary history of their fortune, even to the present day, as given by that very diligent and able inquirer, Vincent, may be useful here: 'While Babylon 'was the capital of the East,' he says, 'the con-'troll of the waters invigorated all the contiguous 'districts. But, when the Persian conquerors 'dwelt at Ecbatana, Susa, or Persepolis, due atten-'tion being discontinued, Mesopotamia, Chaldea,

CHAP. LVII.

'and their capital, declined together.' Alexander, he proceeds, proposed to restore and improve the works. Concerning what followed under his successors, till they were dispossessed by the Parthians, extant history gives no information. The Romans then becoming masters of all westward, and the Parthians of Babylonia itself and all eastward, the latter, not only neglected the beneficial works but, 'incouraged the extension of a desert against the 'Roman frontier. In following vicissitudes of 'power, despotism and neglect completed what 'policy might have commenced. Still it has hap-'pened, in every age, and under every government, 'that the neglect was not universal. The grand 'canals have failed; but a partial distribution of 'the water has constantly been preserved; inso-'much that, even under the desolating empire of 'the Turks, it is to this hour an object of compara-'tive importance. While Ives was on his passage 'up the river he met a bashaw coming down, with 'a commission to direct the places where the bank 'was to be opened, or the outlet closed. The office 'is still of dignity, for this bashaw was a comman-'der of thirty thousand men; and, as we may con-'clude that, under the Turkish government, every 'drop of water is paid for, tho the service will be 'performed badly, still it will be performed.' The extent of the antient improvement, antient account of it failing, the able and diligent commentator proceeds to show thus: 'No traveller passes the great desert 'between Basra and Aleppo without finding traces of 'habitation, buildings and remains of towns: hardly 'Arabian relics, for this is not the country where 'the Arabs live in towns; they are probably Chal-'dean, Syrian or Macedonian. They must all

'have possessed water as the primary means of 'existence, and they have ceased to exist because 'the Euphrates has ceased to convey them the 'means of fertilizing the desert.'

Alexander, leaving Media, as Arrian indicates, in spring, and delayed by nothing on the march, would reach Babylon early in the season of the floods. That season, adverse to the excavation of the proposed dock, tho not perhaps to the erection of the necessary buildings around it, would be most favorable for the business which he in person executed; going by water to the mouth of the channel of the Pallacopas, and proceeding by that channel to a survey of the lake. The country around that expanse of water, in the neglect of the Persian government, mostly barren, and left open to the incursions of the freebooting Arabs, was capable of being made greatly productive. But, for the improvements which Alexander meditated, defence for the workmen to be imployed would be necessary. Selecting therefore a convenient situation on the border of the lake, he directed the building and fortifying of a town, for a settlement for such Greeks of his army as might prefer such an establishment, under their captain-general's protection, to returning to their several republics, where probably they might be at a loss for both protection and means of livelihood.

It has been formerly observed that Arrian, emulating the simplicity and candor of Thucydides, has, unfortunately for the highly interesting history which we owe to him, failed to emulate that excellent author's accuracy in marking times and seasons. Among extant historians, after Thucydides, chronology has been proposed to be regularly given only by Diodorus; whose inaccuracies, can-

CHAP. LVII.

vassed by many able critics, have been the subject of former necessary notice. Thus among very able and diligent modern inquirers, there has been much question concerning a whole year, or nearly so much, following Alexander's return from the eastward to Babylon. Such assurance, however, as antient testimonies afford of what was executed, may assist the judgement where indications of time alone are doubtful. A powerful fleet was partly built on the spot, partly brought over land from a distant country. A dock was excavated on the bank of the Euphrates to receive it, and numerous edifices, such as antient use required for a naval arsenal, were erected. Possibly so much may have been previously in preparation. But, clearly after Alexander's return, very extensive surveys were made, by land and by water, preparatory to works for improving the inland navigation, and irrigating the country; a town on a hostile frontier was built, fortified, and peopled; and, meanwhile, the restoration of the temple of Belus in Babylon was going forward. To all these works Alexander is said to have attended, and, in the surveys, to have taken a leading part.

But a greater, and far more difficult, as well as more beneficial, work than all these, tho details concerning it fail, evidently was accomplished. This was such as never occurred for any man, before or since. Chief of a small limited monarchy, and of a confederacy of republics, Alexander had conquered a mighty empire, composed of many nations, differing among themselves in language, in manners, and in religion, but all perhaps differing more from their conquerors, through their habit of seeing their government administered with the greatest pomp, if not also with the greatest

rigor, of despotism. Educated himself to cultivate popularity among the free, he had, according to all best testimony, in imitation of his father, and in conformity to his great preceptor's instructions, persevered in the practice. The well-known story of his visit to the cynic philosopher Diogenes, when, after his first successes, at the age of only twenty-one, he bore with complacency the affected pride and rudeness of that singular man, is warranted by Arrian; who has added an occurrence of similar character in India, when he alreddy commanded the Persian empire. A bramin, whom he sent for, not only refusing sternly to stir at his command, but adding reproaches, he took all patiently, and would allow no violence toward the man. The liberality of his intercourse, at all times, with all Greeks, whether of his kingdom or of the republics, is marked by all writers; and not least by Arrian, in occasionally reporting table conversation. To maintain his popularity with his own nation was perhaps even more important after than before his conquests; for he could hold these in no security without the support of Grecian hearts, directing Grecian hands.

Arr. l. 7. c. 1.

But he had now another pressing interest, in a manner at war with this. It was to gain the attachment, and secure the respect of those who had been accustomed to see their soverein only surrounded with the utmost pomp, secluded almost as a divinity, commanding everything by his nod, familiar with nobody; while the subjects of the higher classes, each as far as his station would admit, imitated this pomp of despotism. It had not been indeed altogether a successful policy. In the course of this history we have observed rebellions against the soverein frequent; in some

CHAP. LVII.

instances long lasting; in some threateningly extensive; assassinations of members of the royal family numerous; the demise of the crown always attended with trouble, and rarely free from bloodshed. In the quietest times for the throne, wars of governors of provinces with oneanother, each professing to act in the cause of the throne, continual; and thus, after the first Darius, security for the subject appears to have been rarely found throughout the empire, unless under the able administration of Mentor in the West, and Bagoas in the East, in the latter years of the energetic reign of Artaxerxes Ochus.

But Alexander, conquering this empire, and venturing, even while the contest continued, to commit, not only the highest civil, but also very high military commands to eminent men of the conquered, and blending even the armies of the two people, so established harmony throughout the many nations, so balanced the conquerors and the conquered, that on his premature death, leaving the succession singularly questionable, there was, except among the ever-troubled republics of Greece, for some years, a quiet, not perfect, not universal, but, for the circumstances, very extraordinary. The great business of arrangement, indispensable toward providing such an amount of political tranquillity, in such circumstances, is so far marked to have been Alexander's own, as no historian has said who, after Parmenio, was his adviser. No doubt he consulted many; and the talents afterward displayed by several of the persons placed by him in the highest situations, prove the judgement with which he had selected them. These were mostly, but not all, Macedonians. Even the person, who held under him the confidential

office of secretary, Eumenes, was born a republican; and, considering the superior ability shown by that officer, after the loss of his great patron, it seems at least likely that he was a principal and a very valuable assistant. SECT. II.

For the completion of so great a business, however long contemplated, and in whatever degree prepared at Parsagarda, Susa, and Ecbatana, the leisure of one winter at Babylon clearly would be little enough; and the narrative of Arrian, and the chronology of Diodorus, tho with no exactness marking the times of transactions, concur in showing that one winter was passed there. Thus it appears everyway probable that the flood of the first summer was used for the first voyage down the river to the lake. For the excavation of the dock at Babylon, the absence of the flood, and therefore winter, would be requisite. For building and fortifying and settling the town on the lake, time would be wanted, and still more for the very extensive arrangements, civil and military; which were completed, so far at least as to produce the very beneficial results alreddy noticed.

The flood of the second spring is then sufficiently marked as the season of a second voyage to the lake. Circumstances, on this occasion related by the historian, show Alexander's personal attention to the business of the survey. The water, issuing from the river far below Babylon, had spred back again, dispossessing the sand, northward toward the city. In extending the survey in this direction, a part of the fleet became intangled among shoals. The king observing, or informed of, its difficulty, found, among the pilots attending on himself, one who undertook to know that part, and who, being immediately dispatched, conducted the erring Arrian, l. 7. c. 22.

CHAP. LVII.

vessels into the proper channel. But another matter, unimportant in itself, and perhaps not then much noticed, greatly ingaged the public mind afterward. The plain in this part, while dry, or but partially floated, had been chosen in previous ages for the sepulchers of Assyrian kings; for which ilands appear to have been, among the Asiatics, and perhaps others, favorite situations. About those monuments the collected sandy soil favored the growth of reeds. Among them Alexander, in his aversion still to inaction, as formerly when crossing the Hellespont, was himself steering the vessel which bore him, when the diadem which he wore was blown from his head by a violent gust of wind, and lodged on a bed of reeds. Some one from the vessel swam after it, and, to obviate wetting, returned with it on his own head. Among the occurrences of Alexander's active life this was little likely to be much regarded at the time. But, being recollected afterward, in other circumstances, the anecdote became popular, tho in very various report. Some related that the eminent general Seleucus was the person who swam after the diadem; thus rather making their story complete for their purpose of showing an omen verified, than regarding the reäl fact. According to more probable accounts, an obscure man was the adventurer; doubtful whether fortunate, or unfortunate; for, according to some, as the careful historian informs us, the king rewarded him with a present of a talent, according to others caused him to be whipped.

Arr. ut ant. Vin. on Nearch.

Returning however in safety to Babylon, Alexander found more embassies from Grecian republics arrived, with the ordinary present of golden crowns. Antient writers have noticed the spirit of adulation which had been growing among the republican

Greeks, and which, in following ages, became extravagant in extreme; a natural consequence of extravagant violence in the spirit of faction. When one party proposes to rule through the favor of a licentious multitude, its opponents, if the weaker party, being in danger of the cruellest oppression of which history tells, will not be scrupulous of extravagance in endevors to avert or resist it; and so will be reddy for any adulation to obtain powerful protection, and any subserviency to avoid destruction. This observation indeed is at least as old as Aristotle, who has reckoned democracy and tyranny congenial governments, and remarked that the Grecian demagogues of his age and before, failing of their object to attain command, were commonly reddy for any submission. If however there was anything extraordinary in the compliments from the republics, by their embassies to Alexander, it was not such as to attract the notice of historians; tho favors said to have been solicited for some, nominally for their temples and religious service, appear rather extravagant. Alexander however gave a polite attention to all; his interest indeed requiring the maintenance of peace between them, and a good disposition toward him among all.

SECT. II.

Ch. 43. s. 1. of this History.

At Babylon he found also large reïnforcement arrived to supply the numerous recent discharges from his army. From the eastward his satrap of Persia, Peucestas, had brought a body of twenty thousand Persians, beside a considerable force of highlanders, mostly Cossees and Tapoors. The judicious conduct of Peucestas in his government, and also the loyalty of the Persians under it, received the king's particular commendation. It appears indeed probable, from the combined ac-

CHAP. LVII.

counts of Diodorus and Arrian, that the Persians, reckoning themselves unworthily neglected by the late Median dynasty, were prepared with a disposition to be ingaged by Alexander's talent for popularity. Recruits for the infantry were arrived from the westward, under Philoxenus and Menander, the former from Caria, the other from Lydia, and Menidas had brought a body of cavalry; but in what proportion any of these were Greek is not said. In admitting orientals, however, into the establishment of the army of the empire, Alexander avoided to leave them distinct bodies: he so mixed Greeks, whether Macedonian or of the republics among them, that the Greek officers, and of these probably the Macedonian, had the greater share of command [21].

While thus arranging the business of the army, so as to suit the circumstances of the acquired empire, the fleet still appears to have been, for Alexander's indefatigable mind, with purposes immediately in view, the object of his more studious care. In frequent exercise on the wide summer course of the river, the rowers vied with oneanother; those in vessels of the old construction, the triremes, striving to equal or excel in swiftness the quadriremes and quinquaremes, proposed, with more numerous hands, to be capable of more rapid motion.

[21] Here again Arrian's work seems to show the want of his revising eye. He says, the oriental soldiers, formed in bodies together with Greeks, retained their national arms. But, on a former occasion, we have his assurance that large bodies of orientals were completely instructed in the discipline of the phalanx, and armed accordingly. What is here said does not indeed necessarily imply contradiction: it is obviously possible that bodies of orientals, skilled in the use of the bow, might be advantageously annexed to the phalanges. But perfect coherency, or at least explanation, seems wanting.

SECTION III.

Omens: History of an Indian Brahman: Respect for Prognostics among the Antients.

SECT. III.

OMENS, supposed to portend the death of eminent men, less found in earlier history, abound in that of Alexander, and of many following ages; perhaps recommended to public attention, and thence to the regard, not only of writers, seeking for their profit to ingage public curiosity, but also of statesmen, with political views, not least by circumstances about this time occurring, and rumors gaining popularity and raised to importance through Alexander's fame. Commonly, where reported by different antient writers, they are found differently reported. Arrian speaks of the admonition of the Chaldee priests to Alexander 'not to enter Babylon,' as founded on an oracle delivered to them by their god Belus, declaring that misfortune would follow, but not specifying what. Diodorus, after some other authority, says that the priests positively foretold his death as to follow if he entered Babylon, but that all misfortune might be avoided if he passed by; and that they knew this, not by any communication from their deity, but through their skill in astrology. With other particulars, unnoticed by Arrian, he has added what is perfectly probable, that the Greek philosophers, of Alexander's retinue, held the science and the prophecy of the Chaldees together in scorn. What followed appears to have raised both in public esteem; and the historian shows largely his own respect for them, and his opinion of the inferiority of the science of the philosophers of his own nation.

Arrian, l. 7. c. 16.

Diod. l. 17. c. 112.

CHAP. LVII.

It appears to have been in consequence of what followed that, the public mind being greatly agitated throughout the empire, not the prophecy of the Chaldees only, but numerous occurrences, in themselves utterly unimportant, ingaged public attention deeply. Recollection, and imagination, and invention, through various feelings, and with various views, all became busy. Facts were remembered, and representations of them were made, and importance was attributed, and interpretations were insisted on, which otherwise never would have occurred to thought, or would have been little regarded.

But a matter which had passed at Parsagarda, while Alexander was yet there, of neither political nor military concern, yet, as simply related by Arrian, in itself interesting, becoming afterward implicated in report with following events, may perhaps best have its place in narrative here. Alexander, in the course of his conquests, appears to have met nowhere so determined an opposition as in India, from those known, then, as now, by the title of Bramins or Brahmans[22]. Hence, as we have seen, he was induced to treat those singular men, on some occasions with great severity. Nevertheless the peculiarities, and, among these, the merits, of their doctrine and of their manners, excited his curiosity, and even ingaged his esteem; so far at least that he did not refuse friendship with those among them who would cultivate friendship with him. One eminent man of their cast, Cala-

Arr. l. 7. c. 2. & 3.

[22] Bramin seems French orthography, ill adopted by our writers, as suiting no language but the French. The Greek orthography, Βραχμαν, perhaps represented the Indian word, both of Alexander's and of the present day, as nearly as could be with Greek letters.

SECT. III.

nus, as the Greeks wrote his name, acquiring his favor, was enough gratified with it to be induced to attach himself to his court, and even to attend him in the march, threatening in outset, and dangerous and painful in experience, through the Gadrosian desert. Some writers, amid the profligacy of aftertimes, imputed to this man, and even generally to the brahmans, a propensity, in most decided opposition to their avowed principles, to indulge in the sensual pleasures which Alexander's court might afford, and especially to drinking. Whether there were or not, among them, men of such a disposition, nothing seems to warrant the imputation against Calanus. Sensual pleasures were surely not expected in the Gadrosian desert. To study nature was among their objects on principle; and extension of that study, in observation beyond Indian bounds, might be among his motives. But, if he had any less worthy, what followed appears to show it to have been the pride of exhibiting, among strangers, the ordinary fortitude of his brotherhood; first in bearing great hardships, clearly expected in the march, and then in a contempt of life, when the prospect of opportunity for sensual gratification became open.

Ath. l. 10. c. 10.

It is not said that he did not bear the evils of that desperate undertaking, the march through Gadrosia, with unreproved constancy. But, arrived at Parsagarda, when ease and pleasure were, in ordinary course, within hope of all, being seized with severe ilness, no unlikely result for one habituated to a life of the greatest abstinence indeed, but of the most perfect quiet, he became, it is said, impatient of life. According to the brahman doctrine, death is but a parting of the immortal soul from an unworthy associate, the

Arr. l. 7. c. 2.

CHAP. LVII.

mortal body, which every one might chuse for himself, regardless of further duties among men. Of his faith in this doctrine, and of his contempt for whatever injoyments might be reserved for him in this world, Calanus resolved to show an example; ordinary in his own country, but which, where he now was, would be striking and memorable. Accordingly he made known to Alexander his desire to die by fire on a funeral pile, pursuant to the practice of his sect. The prince kindly remonstrated, and at first refused permission. But Calanus persevering, against all solicitation and argument, in declaring that he would use his right of chusing death for himself, and, if denied the more honorable mode, warranted by the practice of his cast, still he would die, Alexander at length reluctantly yielded.

Avoiding to be present at the mournful exhibition, he would otherwise do his wilful parting friend the utmost honor. The whole army was ordered out, under the command of the historian, Ptolemy son of Lagus. Calanus, so weak from sickness as to be unable, if not rather unwilling, to walk, was provided with a horse. A company preceded him, carrying offerings of vessels of gold and silver and royal robes. He was crowned in the Indian manner, and sang as he went. At the foot of the pile he was taken on a couch, perhaps a palankeen, and carried by men to the top. The decent gracefulness and apparent composure with which he placed himself there were remarked by the beholders. While the flames approached him, he remained to the admiration of all, motionless, till, with the smoke, they hid him from sight.

Arr. l. 7. c. 3.

'Such,' says Arrian, 'is the account given by 'writers worthy of credit,' and it seems to have

SECT. III.

been all that he found given by writers whom he so esteemed. But an addition gained popularity, which he has noticed on a following occasion. 'This is reported,' he says, 'of the Indian philo- Arr. l 7. c. 18.
'sopher Calanus. On leaving the palace to pro-
'ceed to the funeral pile, having saluted the rest
'of his friends, he avoided that ceremony to Alex-
'ander, saying he would salute him at Babylon.' Such a story could hardly fail of Plutarch's favor, who has given it, without naming authority, as an authentic prophecy of Alexander's death. But he might have named, what may deserve notice, the authority of Cicero. That extraordinary man, who in the stormy time in which he lived, deeply ingaged in political and civil business, could yet give much attention to philosophical subjects, has left, it is well known, a treatise in support of belief in prognostics, as prophetical intimations (whether from one god, or from some of the various deïties of the Greek and Roman creed) and in the ability of men, versed in divination, to interpret them. In that treatise he has not scrupled to state, as an instance of true prophecy, that the Indian philosopher Calanus foretold the death of Alexander as to follow, within a few days, that to which he was going immediately to put himself. Here we have a strong instance, how much at hazard, in failure of the modern convenience of printed books and indexes, the most informed men among the antients would refer to historical matter, when history was not their principal object. The prophecy of Calanus, disregarded (for so Arrian says) at the time, seems, most probably, to have been unheard of till after Alexander's death.

It may appear indeed, in modern times, extraordinary, that such and so many prognostics, as

CHAP. LVII.

here load Arrian's narrative, should have been thought worthy of it by one of his eminence in civil and military office, and of the understanding shown in his extant writings. But, as they remain noticed not by him only, but by other eminent men, they so mark the character of three ages, the most inlightened of antiquity, those of Alexander, of Cicero, and of Arrian himself, that still some further notice of them may be required of the modern historian. The authority of Aristobulus, cited by Arrian for three which he has related, indicates the importance attributed to them in Alexander's own age. One of these, involving other men in eminent situations, may most deserve attention, and may suffice for example.

When Alexander left Babylon for the eastward, committing the important satrapy of the province to the Persian Mazæus, he appointed a republican Greek, Apollodorus of Amphipolis, one of his band of companions, to the chief military command. When assurance was obtained that, in returning from India, he was proceeding to Ecbatana, Apollodorus, whether according to order, or to obviate imputations against him, repaired thither. Informed of the king's severe justice, alreddy exercised toward oppressors, in alarm, he wrote to his brother, Peithagoras, an eminent seer, of that branch which pretended to know the future from observation of the intestines of victims killed for sacrifice, desiring prophetical information concerning his own future safety. Peithagoras, in answer, inquired from whom particularly fearing danger he desired a prophecy on the subject. Apollodorus wrote him, that he feared the king himself, and Hephæstion. Peithagoras then sacrificed first concerning Hephæstion; and, finding the victim's liver

defective, wrote to his brother that there could be no danger from Hephæstion, for he would be very shortly out of the way; and Aristobulus related that Hephæstion died the next day after the letter's arrival. Peithagoras then sacrificed concerning Alexander, and found the victim's liver again faulty. Of this Apollodorus informed the king, hoping so to obtain the credit of solicitude for his welfare; and so far he succeeded, that he lost no favor. According to Aristobulus, Alexander was enough impressed by the story to be induced to communicate with Peithagoras upon it, when he arrived at Babylon. The seer assured him boldly that the fallure in the victim's liver portended him great misfortune; and Alexander was so satisfied with what he esteemed the honesty of the declaration, that Peithagoras was thenceforth in more than former favor with him. Aristobulus, who related all this, in his history, as having had it from Peithagoras himself, added other instances of the skill of that seer in divination, shown afterward, as he said, in foretelling the fate of other eminent men.

Considering the eminence of both Aristobulus and Arrian, we have here indeed very remarkable evidence to the estimation of that called the science of divination, in the most florishing ages of Grecian and Roman philosophy. But in the report, from Aristobulus, of Alexander's communication with Apollodorus and Peithagoras, this moreover will deserve notice. We have there the testimony of those in the habit of conversation with Alexander, published when there could be no purpose of flattery, to the temper with which he received such communications. And this will deserve to be borne in mind by any whom curiosity may lead to the stories told by antient writers, some even by

CHAP. LVII.

Arrian, of which two are from Aristobulus, imputing to him unworthy alarm and base resentment.

But in estimating these tales of prognostics, so solemnly and authoritatively told, still some other matters may deserve the modern reader's consideration. Both in the Roman republic, and afterward under the empire, the various offices of the priesthood, even the highest, were held by men holding at the same time, not only the highest civil, but also the highest military situations, and were no mean political engine in their hands. Arrian, with both civil and military office, is said to have held a priesthood of considerable power and emolument. Thus he would not only have a personal interest in the subject which Cicero, before him, had recommended to public respect, but would have a duty toward his office, while he held it to consider. But, before Arrian's time, that had occurred, whence had arisen a conflict, both of opinions and of interests, which could in no degree be in Cicero's contemplation. Alreddy the credit of the Christian religion was so advancing (to this purpose the testimony of Arrian's cotemporary, Pliny, is decisive) as to have become alarming to those, from opinion or from interest, attached to the heathen rites: and thus, in emulation of those prophecies by which the Christian faith was promoted, a desire and an interest to maintain and promote the credit of heathen prognostics was excited.

Fortunately for the short but interesting portion of Alexander's history to follow, extraordinary authority has been preserved; neither confirming nor confuting the various accounts of facts, reported as prognostics, but affording ground for

estimating the value of tales transmitted of any effect from them on that extraordinary man's mind. SECT. III.

SECTION IV.

Sacrificial Feast for the Armament: Alexander's Illness and Death.

EXTREME in bearing fatigue when business required bodily exertion, careless of bodily exercise, when the mind could be employed; extreme also occasionally in watching and fasting, and occasionally indulging his power of sensual injoyment; regardless always equally of the winter atmosphere of snowy mountains and of the summer heat of plains under a tropical sun, such was the excellence of Alexander's constitution, that, except what he had brought upon himself, at Tarsus in Cilicia, by bathing, when violently heated, in a river singularly chilling, it does not appear that he had ever suffered sickness. The transition from the summer heat of Gadrosia and Persia to the keen winter air of the Cossee mountains, and thence again to assiduous employment among the marshes of the Babylonian plain, under a burning sun by day and among rank vapors by night, would put the strongest constitution to severe trial. This however he had borne, apparently uninjured; and, after a following winter, had hazarded, in the returned heat of summer, again to employ himself assiduously, careless, it appears, of weather, in an open boat among the marshes. SECT. IV.

CHAP. LVII.

Arrian marks it to have been shortly after his second return to Babylon, from this variously hazardous business, that, preparation for his long projected expedition to the southward being completed, he resolved to proceed upon it; trusting that, with arrangements made, he might commit the administration at home to those whom he had appointed to the several departments and provinces, while he should be absent for uncertain time in uncertain distance. In his usual way then of cultivating popularity among all ranks in his service, previously to departure he gave a magnificent sacrifice, affording a feast for the combined fleet and army, in which he shared at a table provided for himself and his more select companions.

Arrian, l. 7. c.23.24. Plut. v. Alex.

After the death of Hephæstion, the person with whom he most communicated as a confidential friend and grateful companion was Medius of Larissa in Thessaly; probably of that race of Thessalian nobles who claimed kindred with the Macedonian royal family, as of the blood of Hercules, and to whom the reigning branch was largely indebted for the possession of the throne. According to report, which Plutarch has followed, and which Arrian appears to have reckoned trustworthy, Alexander was retiring from his magnificent sacrificial entertainment with the purpose of going to rest, when Medius requested him to join a company at supper.

Arrian, l. 7. c.24.25. Ch. 34. s. 2. of this History.

Midday being in the hot climates, for those of easy circumstances, the season of repose, when, with the light of the sun, the heated air also, for domestic comfort, even in the South of Europe, is commonly excluded from all apartments, night is the season rationally chosen for social injoyment; and sitting late, in itself, no indication of debauch.

Night of course was the preferable season for that conversation in which, as on the best authority we are assured, Alexander delighted, and in opportunities of leisure indulged; sometimes it appears drinking to excess, but according to far the most trustworthy testimony, that of Aristobulus, reported by Arrian, and confirmed by every account of what was accomplished by Alexander, generally without excess, and rather abstemiously.

The interesting sequel is given by both Arrian and Plutarch, from the royal daybook formerly mentioned; said to have been compiled under the direction of that very eminent man, Eumenes, the king's principal secretary. Their reports differ; but so only that Plutarch, confirming much, invalidates nothing of what is stated by the other far more careful writer[22].

[22] These reports are noticed by Vincent, in his commentary on Nearchus, p. 524, thus: 'the extract preserved both by 'Plutarch and Arrian, does not materially differ in the ac- 'counts of the two reporters, except that Arrian has preserved 'more notices of the fleet.' Sainte Croix describes the same extracts somewhat differently, 'un fragment, conservé par 'Arrien, extrait avec peu de fidelité par Plutarque.' Exam. des hist. d'Alex. p. 157. It seems evident to me that neither writer has proposed a rigidly exact copy, but that each has extracted what he reckoned for his purpose, using often the original words (as Plutarch has professed for himself to have done) but abridging and connecting with their own phrases as they saw convenient. The publication, intitled the royal daily transactions, or daybook, being a dry register of facts, and not a work proposed for general amusement, is unlikely, as it has been formerly observed in the text, to have been in many antient libraries. The two extracts from it, transmitted by two antient writers of the eminence of Plutarch and Arrian, however differing, together furnish authority more than commonly satisfactory for such matter in antient history. They are indeed documents altogether so singular among the relics of antiquity, and of so interesting a kind, that I have been induced to offer translations of them side by side at the end of this chapter, to enable the curious reader the more reddily to form his own judgement of the use here made of them.

CHAP. LVII.

According to both accounts Alexander, after the feast given to the whole army, joined a select company at supper with Medius. Bathing before the meal, we find, was common among the Greeks in Homer's time. In the hot climate of Babylonia it appears to have been the common practice on rising and going to rest. Alexander, according to Arrian's report from the daybook, bathed on rising from supper, and then retired, alreddy, according to Plutarch, who apparently has meant to speak of the same day, feeling fever. The next day was passed in conversing, drinking and playing at dice with Medius, nobody being admitted on business; a course utterly adverse to what the sequel decisively marks to have then strongly ingaged Alexander's mind. Thus it appears highly probable that, as Plutarch's account indicates a disabling ilness was alreddy felt; yet such only as to leave the hope reddy that, with one day's quiet, power for the usual exertion of mind and body might return. Late at night he bathed; ate a little; and, the fever then running high, retired to rest in Medius's house. Most extravagant stories were, perhaps not till long after, circulated of his drinking on this occasion; some refuted by their very extravagance, all made doubtful by their varieties, and all virtually contradicted by the daybook[23].

[23] I hardly know whether fitter refutation of those extravagancies could be than is virtually involved in the hyperbole of our dithyrambic poet, who may indeed seem to have proposed exposition of their absurdity, rather summing up than exceeding them, in saying,

'Alexander hated thinking,
'Drank around the council-board,
'And subdued the world by drinking
'More than by his conquering sword.'

SECT. IV.

An eminent modern physician has reckoned, from the circumstances most authoritatively reported, that the disorder was what, in modern medical phrase, is termed an irregular semitertian fever; precisely the kind of disorder which, not excessive drinking, but incautious and unlimited exposure to alternate heat, cold and damp, with great exertion of the body, and intense application of the mind, also in alternacy, would be likely to produce.

On the third morning, impatient of idleness, tho so oppressed by ilness as to be unable to rise, the king was carried on a couch to the sacrifice, which the law prescribed for every day. This, a thanksgiving to the gods for the meal, seems to have been little if anything other than a more ceremonious manner of what was practised by our fathers, and perhaps ill neglected among ourselves, in our phrase, saying grace. Lying then on his couch, he received his principal officers, and gave orders for the proposed expedition; so trusting yet that his indisposition would be transitory, that he named the fourth day forward for the army to move, and, for the fleet, in which he proposed himself to imbark, the fifth. Both accounts indicate a remission of the disorder on this day. After dispatching business, he could attend to the amusement of hearing Nearchus, and others who had made the voyage with him, relate the circumstances of the Indian ocean and its shores. In the evening, probably for fresher air than that of the palace in the city, carried still on a couch, or in a palankeen, he crossed the river to a paradise, a pleasure-ground appendant to a smaller palace, where, having bathed as usual, he rested for the night.

On the fourth day, whether feeling fatigue from the former day's exertion, or compelled by increased

CHAP. LVII.

fever, or refraining with the hope of acquiring better power from quiet, he admitted only Medius to his conversation. The principal officers were directed to attend next morning. In the evening he ate a little, but throughout the following night the fever was high.

On the morning of the fifth day there seems to have been such a remission as to incourage him, who scarcely ever before had known ilness, to hope that his disorder was wearing off; for after having bathed, and attended the usual ceremony of sacrifice, he gave orders to the principal officers for the armament to move on the third following day.

On the sixth day, after bathing, and the never-failing ceremony of sacrifice, the fever became again high. Nevertheless he would see the principal officers, and gave farther orders for the expedition: but in the evening his disorder was evidently increased.

On the seventh day, perhaps again for cooler air, he was carried to a building described as that where was the great swimming-bath. There the ceremony of morning sacrifice was performed in his presence; and, tho very ill, he yet would see the principal officers, and gave some orders concerning the expedition.

On the eighth day, tho so reduced that with difficulty he attended the sacred ceremony, he would nevertheless see the principal officers, and gave some orders, showing himself still intent on the expedition.

On the ninth day, in extreme ilness, he would yet attend the accustomed ceremony of sacrifice. Thus, and indeed throughout the extracts from the daybook, is marked what Arrian has attributed to Alexander, his careful attention to the ceremonies

of religion prescribed by the customs of his forefathers, in which he concurred with almost every eminent man known by antient history; but in no part of them is found any warrant for the unmanly and disgraceful superstitious fears attributed to him by Plutarch, not then writing from the daybook, which are contradicted by the whole tenor of his previous conduct, as reported, in concurrence with all other historians, by Plutarch himself[24]. His mind remained intent upon the expedition. The officers were reddy, as usual; and, tho he was in no condition to receive them, all were directed to wait; the generals within the great hall, the chiliarcs and pentacosiarcs without. In the course of the day it appears to have become evident that he was near extremity, and, in those circumstances, it was thought proper that he should be carried back from the paradise to the palace. There the principal officers had access to him; but, tho he showed that he knew them, he was unable to speak.

During that night and throughout the next day, the fever continued violent. Great uneasiness pervaded all the lower ranks of the army. Who was to command, and what was to become of them, in the event of the king's death, none could tell. Suspicion ran that he was alreddy dead, and that the principal officers, with views of their own, concealed the catastrophë. Consistently then with what the Macedonians, even on military service, esteemed their right, they would have assurance

[24] Plutarch's excuse for himself, stated in the beginning of his Life of Alexander, has perhaps escaped the observations of some, and rarely obtained due consideration from others, who have quoted his authority for historical matters. 'Writing,' as he says, 'not histories but lives,' tho he has not directly claimed, yet he seems often to have reckoned upon the poet's privilege of knowing what only the muse could tell.

CHAP. LVII.

on the highly interesting subject, and nothing under ocular evidence would satisfy them. Their importunity at length proceeding to threats of violence, should their just desire be longer denied, it was deemed expedient, or even necessary, to admit a number without arms, in civil dress, to pass regularly, in single file, through the chamber where the king lay. He showed himself yet sensible, raising his head a little, holding out his hand, and marking intelligence by his eyes, but remaining speechless.

In the severe disorder which he had brought on himself by bathing at Tarsus, he was attended by a physician; his confidence in whom has become matter of celebrity. Hephæstion also, in the ilness which ended his life, we have seen, was attended by a physician. Hence it appears the more extraordinary that, among so many particularities of Alexander's last ilness, in no account is an attending physician mentioned. Yet an omission of what the ordinary practice of the age in common decency would have required, had it been reäl, hardly would have escaped the notice of all extant authors. Probably it may have been, in failure of remaining hope from medical skill, to pacify the army, and protect physicians, together with all other attendants, against vulgar resentment, that a measure was resorted to altogether of extraordinary aspect, tho perhaps not without some near parallels among modern nations. Seven men, in the highest military offices, Python, Attalus, Demophoon, Peucestas, Cleomenes, Menidas, and Seleucus, passed a night in the temple of Serapis, to solicit relief for their suffering soverein, and especially to seek information whether it might be advantageous for him to be lodged in the temple, and there himself

SECT. IV.

solicit succor from the god. The existence of a temple of the Egyptian god in the metropolis of the Chaldee religion, seems to mark its origin from Alexander's great purpose of bringing his subjects of all religions to friendly union. The preference of it for the solemn occasion, so interesting all of Grecian race, appears rather extraordinary. Possibly however among the Greeks, whose lively fancy was commonly reddy to adopt additions to their religious faith, some partiality for this new deïty may have prevailed, or, possibly the men in power may have reckoned upon it as the most manageable of auguries within reddy reach, or under direction of priests the most friendly to them. The eminent persons appointed to consult it, however, reported, that a voice, issuing from the divinity, declared that it would be better for the king not to be brought to the temple, but to remain where he was. Shortly after, on the eleventh day of his ilness, Alexander expired, 'as if,' Arrian has added, 'that 'were best for him.'

'Alexander died in the hundred and fourteenth 'Olympiad; and in the archonship of Hegesias 'at Athens. He lived, as Aristobulus says, thirty-'two years and eight months, and reigned twelve 'years and eight months.' Thus imperfectly Arrian has indicated the time of an event the most extensively and deeply interesting to the civilized world, of perhaps any recorded in profane history; antient chronology apparently failing to furnish means for more exactness. By this account, however, compared with that of Diodorus, it appears marked not altogether unsatisfactorily, the ordinary deficiency of ancient chronology considered, that the catastrophë occurred about Midsummer of

CHAP. LVII.

the three hundred and twenty-third year before Christ[25].

Arrian, whose disposition to careful examination, and whose desire of impartial judgement will be most striking to those most versed among the antient historians, has concluded his narrative of the actions by declaring his opinion of the character of that extraordinary man thus: 'Alexander 'was in body most graceful, most active, most 'indefatigable; in mind most manly, most ambi- 'tious of glory, most indifferent to danger, most 'diligent in devotion to the deïty. In sensual 'pleasures he was most temperate; of praise for 'the gifts of the mind only insatiable: singular in 'readiness to see the best to be done in the most 'critical emergencies, and, from what was evident, 'to conjecture concerning what remained obscure: 'in all the business of arraying, providing, and 'ruling an army most able; in incouraging the 'soldiery, filling them with hope, and, by demon- 'stration of his own fearlessness, dispelling the 'fears of others, excellent; in doubtful enterprize 'most daring; in anticipating even the enemy's 'suspicion of his purposes most skilful; in his 'own ingagements most faithful; in avoiding to 'be deceived by others most acute: of expence 'upon his own pleasures most sparing; in bestow- 'ing upon others perhaps profuse.

'If then, through vehemence of temper, and 'in highly provoked anger, he became criminal, 'or if, through inflated pride, he gave too much 'into barbarian fashions, I think candor will find 'large extenuation for him; his youth, and his 'uninterrupted course of the most extraordinary

[25] A note on this subject will be found in the Appendix.

'great fortune, being considered, together with 'the flattery with which kings, to their great injury, 'are constantly beset. On the other hand, the se- 'verity of his repentance for his faults I reckon his 'great, and, among what is recorded of kings, his 'singular merit. Even his claim to divine origin 'I cannot esteem a blameable extravagance; his 'object having been to gain that veneration from 'those he had conquered, which might contribute 'to the stability of his new empire; and the exam- 'ple of Minos, Æacus, Rhadamanthus, Thesus, 'and Ion, men acknowleged by the Greeks to have 'been sons of gods, being familiar to him and all 'about him. His assumption of the Persian habit, 'while living among the Persians, avoiding thus to 'appear a stranger in the country over which he 'reigned, I consider as a just policy. His long 'sitting at table, Aristobulus assures us, was not 'for the sake of wine, for he commonly drank little, 'but for conversation, and to discover who might 'deserve his esteem, and with such to cultivate 'friendship.

'Let then, whoever would vilify Alexander, not 'select, from the actions of a man, fallible as 'of mankind, only what may be blameworthy; 'but, putting together all his deeds, consider how 'comparatively insignificant, in whatever situation 'of high fortune placed, he himself has been, in- 'gaged through life in comparatively little matters, 'and not even in those doing always well. My 'opinion therefore I will profess, that not without 'especial purpose of the Deity, such a man was 'given to the world, to whom none has ever yet 'been equal.'

APPENDIX

TO THE FIFTY-SEVENTH CHAPTER.

Passage in Arrian's history of Alexander, leading to the Extract from the Royal Daybook.

Some have written of Alexander, that, retiring from the feast given to the army and fleet, his purpose was to go to rest; but Medius, then his most favorite friend, solicited his company to supper; urging that he would find a pleasant company[1]. The Daybook also says as follows:

Passage in Plutarch's life of Alexander, leading to the Extract from the Royal Daybook.

After the magnificent feast given to Nearchus and those appointed with him for the expedition, Alexander was retiring to rest, but, at the solicitation of Medius, joined a company at supper, and drinking there all the next day, he began to have a fever. Not that he emptied the cup of Hercules at a draught, nor that he was suddenly seized with a pain in the loins as if struck with a spear, as some have thought expedient to report, supposing something superlatively tragic and pathetic necessary for the conclusion of a great drama. Aristobulus indeed relates that, being light-headed and suffering greatly from thirst, he drank wine, and so promoted the delirium in which he died on the thirtieth day of the month Daisius. But in the Daybook it is written of the illness thus:

[1] Καμόσαι παρὰ δι· γενέσθαι γὰρ ἡδὺν τὸν κῶμον.—Πίνειν παρὰ Μηδίῳ κωμάσαντα. Desirous as I have always been to avoid verbal criticism, yet the choice of modern historians and translators, and commentators, very generally to infer from these phrases something very disgraceful to Alexander, makes me reckon it right to observe that I apprehend the words κῶμος and κομάζω do not always,

Arrian's Extract from the Daybook.	*Plutarch's Extract from the Daybook.*
First Day :—[2]	*First Day* :—[2]
That he drank in festive company with Medius, on rising bathed, and then went to rest;	On the eighteenth day of the month Daisius he slept in the bathing-hall, because he had a fever.

among the Greek writers, imply anything disgraceful, or even at all indecorous. So much the lexicographer's quotation from Euripides, I think, sufficiently proves, Τὸν καλλίνικον μετὰ Σκύθων ἐκώμασεν. Herc. fur. 180. And I am not aware of any reason for supposing the historian to have proposed those words in a sense at all differing from that, clearly no way dishonorable, intended by the poet. Nevertheless, whether those, or almost any other words, may, in common acceptation, have acquired shades of difference in Alexander's age, and whether others in Arrian's, and whether, throughout the divided portions of the Greek people, they were precisely of the same import in any age, I will leave for more diligent investigators of such matters to say.

Yet I cannot pass unnoticed the learned commentator Gronovius's remark on this passage: 'Nec commentarii regii,' he says, 'debuerunt omittere quod annotarunt alii, nempe κυβεύσαντα. Hoc enim fuit alterum lutum in quo hæsit Alexander præter τὸ πίνειν.

A Dutch doctor of the eighteenth century, in a university near the mouth of the Rhine, thus undertakes to say what Alexander's secretary ought to have reported Alexander to have done more than two thousand years before, in private company, at Babylon. And on this occasion his inadvertency has nearly equalled his malice and his arrogance: for if he had taken the trouble to look into Plutarch's life of Alexander, he would have found there the daybook quoted for that very matter which he has so arrogantly blamed the daybook for omitting, nempe κυβεύσαντα. Why Arrian has mentioned, as from the daybook, the πίνειν, omitting the κυβεύσαντα, and Plutarch has noticed the latter, omitting to claim the authority of the daybook for what he had previously said of the former, are questions I apprehend to be but on doubtful conjecture answered. The graver question perhaps would be, why, in such a register as the daybook seems to have been, either was noticed. The simplicity of what follows in both the extracts from that register may however warrant the compiler against the imputation of any malignant purpose. The probability then may seem, that the king being disabled by ilness, so that no one was admitted to him on business, these trifling matters alone occurred, and, if reälly in the daybook, were, for their novelty, and to account for the failure of more, entered there.

[2] Arrian, in his extract from the daybook has marked time only by the daily transactions. Plutarch has named the month and the days of the month, passing however unnoticed two days of the ilness, the twenty-third and the twenty-eighth of the month. Plutarch mentions fever in the first day's report, Arrian not till the second. Whether both meant to begin with the same day therefore may be questioned.

Of the various calendars of the Grecian states the Attic is that of which most, and yet very imperfect, information remains. The very learned and diligent Vincent, after laborious comparison of different opinions of former learned and diligent inquirers, has been utterly unable to satisfy himself, with what Attic month the Macedonian Daisius corresponded, or most nearly corresponded. Considering then the varieties and perplexities of the Grecian calendars, it may be no severe imputation upon Plutarch to suppose that even he was unable to state the day of either an Attic or a Bœotian month corresponding with the eighteenth of the Macedonian Daisius, and therefore gave only the Macedonian name. The circumstances of Alexander's history seem to afford the best ground remaining for con-

Arrian's Extract from the Daybook.

Second Day :—

next day ate again with Medius, and again sat drinking till late at night, then bathed, after which he ate a little, and slept there because he had already a fever.

Third Day :—

Next morning, being carried on a couch to the sacrifice, he performed the ceremony required by the law for every day; and the sacrifice being offered[4], he continued lying in the great hall till

Plutarch's Extract from the Daybook.

Second Day :—

On the nineteenth, after bathing, he returned to the bedroom-apartment, and, during the day, played at dice with Medius. Late in the evening he bathed; then, from the supper, he made the accustomed offering to the gods, and ate[3], but had fever through the night.

Third Day :—

On the twentieth, having bathed, he again performed the customary duties of the sacrifice, and passed the day lying in the bathing-hall; amusing himself with hearing Nearchus, and those who made the

jecture of its place in the modern European calendar, but no farther than as it is indicated to have been near midsummer.

[3] Τὰ ἱερὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιθεὶς, ἐμφαγὼν διὰ νυκτὸς ἐπόρεξεν. Plut. v. Alex. The pretended translation of this passage, under the names of Cruserius and Xylander, runs thus: 'Sacris operatus, cibum sumpsit avidius. Hinc nocte febre tentatus est.'

Vincent, in his commentary on Nearchus (p. 526, n. 80,) has noticed the falsehood of this translation, but with mind apparently divided between a just care for the assailed character of Alexander, and respect, far more than due, for the learned assailants; who, by the insertion of the utterly unauthorized words *avidius* and *Hinc*, have been guilty of nothing less than a most impudent and malicious forgery. Tho occasion has occurred to notice emulation of such democratic virtue in the translator of Arrian, and also in the learned and acute commentator yet I think neither has anywhere equalled this instance of it in the learned translators of Plutarch.

[4] Ἐκκρεμισθέντα δὲ ἐπὶ κλίνης πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ, θῦσαι, ὡς νόμος ἑφ' ἑκάστῃ ἡμέρᾳ. κ. τ. ε. For explanation of this, which both translator and commentator have avoided, we look in vain even to the learned archbishop Potter, in his large collection on the religion of Greece. Xenophon however has afforded some light, especially in the sixth book of his narrative of the expedition of Cyrus, noticed in the fifth section of the twenty-third chapter of this history. In comparing what is there found with what is here mentioned by Arrian, it seems clear that the sacrifice was a ceremony of thanksgiving to the deity for the meal; analogous to that religious and moral ceremony of our forefathers (now, perhaps as little to the advantage of morality as religion, grown rather unfashionable) which we call Saying Grace, and differing only by some little additional formalities. These appear hardly to have differed from what are repeatedly described by Homer, especially in the beginning of the third book of the Odyssee; but I know not that they are mentioned as of daily practice at ordinary meals anywhere but in extracts from the royal daybook.

Arrian's Extract from the Daybook.

evening. During the day he gave orders to the commanders for the march of the army and the outset of the fleet, appointing the fourth day forward for the former, and the fifth for the latter, in which he proposed himself to imbark. He was then carried on a couch to the river, which he crossed in a boat to a paradise, where again he bathed and rested the night.

Fourth Day :—

On the following day he bathed and sacrificed, as the law required, and then going to the bedchamber-apartment[5] he lay there conversing with Medius. The generals were ordered to attend next morning. In the evening he took a light supper, and, being carried to his bedchamber[5], had fever through the night.

Fifth Day :—

On the morrow again, having bathed and sacrificed, (breakfasted) he admitted Nearchus and other principal officers to audience, and gave orders for the expedition, naming the third day after for moving.

Sixth Day :—

Next day, after bathing, he performed again the prescribed

Plutarch's Extract from the Daybook.

voyage with him, relate the circumstances of the ocean and its shores.

Fourth Day :—

Passing the twenty-first in the same manner, the fever increased, and he had a very bad night.

Fifth Day :—

On the twenty-second, the fever being violent he was carried to the great swimming-bath, and lying by it, he conversed with the generals about persons fit to be appointed to some vacant commands.

Sixth Day :—

Account omitted.

5 Εἰς τὴν καμάραν εἰσελθόντα.—Κομισθέντα δὲ εἰς τὴν καμάραν. It seems by these differing expressions implied, that in a remission of the disorder, he could walk from the sacrificial breakfast to his chamber in the morning, but that, its violence returning, it became necessary or expedient that he should be carried from the evening meal.

Arrian's Extract from the Daybook.

ceremony of sacrifice; and the meal, thus sanctified, being set, tho there was no intermission of the disorder, he would see the generals, and gave orders for the expedition, requiring all to be ready. In the evening he bathed again and was afterward extremely ill.

Seventh Day:—

Next morning he was carried back to the house where was the great swimming-bath, (apparently within the paradise) and there the customary ceremony of sacrifice was performed. Tho very ill he would see the principal generals, and gave some orders about the expedition.

Eighth Day:—

On the next day he ill bore to be carried to the sacrifice, and go through the ceremony, and yet would give orders to the generals about the expedition.

Ninth Day:—

On the following day, tho very ill, he nevertheless attended the sacrifice, but ordered the generals to wait in the hall, the chiliarcs and pentacosiarcs without. The disorder becoming extreme, he was carried from the paradise to the palace. There the generals had access to him; and he knew them, but said nothing, being speechless.

Plutarch's Extract from the Daybook.

Seventh Day:—

On the twenty-fourth, tho the fever was violent, yet supported at the ceremony, he sacrificed. The generals were directed to wait in the hall, the chiliarcs and pentacosiarcs to pass the night without.

Eighth Day:—

On the twenty-fifth, being carried back to the palace, he slept a little; but there was no remission of the fever, so that when the generals came to attend him he was speechless.

Ninth Day:—

On the twenty-sixth he was in the same state. The Macedonians, supposing him already dead, clamored at the gate, and threatened the Royal Companions till they were admitted; and, in civil dress, without arms, they passed his bed one by one.

On the same day, Python and Seleucus, being commissioned to

Arrian's Extract from the Daybook.

That night the fever was violent and

Tenth Day:—

continued so the next and following night. So it is written in the Daybook. Moreover it is there said, that the soldiers were eager for admission: some anxious once more to see their king living; others, uneasy because it was rumored that he was alreddy dead, and suspicion went that the lords of the body-guard desired to conceal the event; but, as I conjecture, the greater part through grief for the apprehended loss of their king, and anxiety for his safety. However their violence was such that they obtained their purpose. As then they passed him in just order, tho he was speechless, yet it is said he held out his hand to them, with difficulty raising his head a little, but with his eyes showing intelligence still remaining.

Days unascertained:—

The Royal Daybook also says, that Python, Attalus, Demophoon, Peucestas, Cleomenes, Menidas, and Seleucus passed the night in the temple of Serapis, to obtain information from the god whether it were advantageous and best for Alexander to be carried to the temple, and himself solicit his cure from the god; and that a voice

Plutarch's Extract from the Daybook.

go to the Serapeion, consulted the god, whether he should be carried thither; but the god directed that he should remain where he was.

Tenth Day:—

Account omitted.

Arrian's Extract from the Daybook.

came from the god, forbidding to carry him to the temple, and declaring that he would better remain where he was. So, according to the Daybook, the King's companions reported; and, not long after, Alexander died; as if that were best for him. Nor do the accounts of either Ptolemy or Aristobulus considerably differ from this.

Plutarch's Extract from the Daybook.

Eleventh Day :—

On the twenty-eighth, toward evening, he expired.

These things, mostly word for word, are so written in the Daybook.

INDEX

TO THE

EIGHT VOLUMES.

The small Numerals,—i. ii. iii. iv. v. vi. vii. viii.—*refer to the Volumes; and the figures to the paging.*

A

Abdera - - - - - - - - i. 418.—ii. 9.
Acarnania i. 12.–ii. 375. 416. 477, 478. 484, 485.–iv.422, 423.
Achaia i. 12, 13. 173. 254.—v. 153. 155, 156, 157, 158.
Achilles - - - - - - - - - i. 38. 77.
Acorn - - - - - - - - - i. 8, note.
Acrisius - - - - - - - i. 31. 193. 216.
Admetus, king of the Molossians - - ii. 215, 216.
Adoration, ceremony of - - - viii. 145 to 147.
Ægeus king of Athens - - - - i. 48, 49.
Ægina i. 450. 469. 474. ii. 45. 58. 70. 83. 246. 256.369.—iii. 377. 486.—iv. 437.
Æneas general of Arcadia - - - v. 168, 169.
Ælian - - - - - - - - - vii. 164, note.
Æolic division of the Greek nation - - - i. 175.
Æolic migration - - - - - - - i. 327.
Æolis or Æolia - - - - - - i. 328. iv. 301.
Æschines the orator v. 262.—vi. 302, 303, 304. 352. 453. 465. 468.—vii. 45 to 49. 272. 284.—viii. 396. 401.
Æschylus i. 419, note. 425, note. 427, note.—ii. 69, 70, 71. 284.
Æsculapius - - - - - - - - vii. 428.
Ætolia - - - - - - - - i. 12. 42.—ii. 471.
Africa - - - - - - - - - i. 332.—ii. 130.
Agamemnon - - i. 35, 36. 74. 79.—vii. 157, note.
Agatharchidas Corinthian - - - - ii. 407.

Agesilaus king of Lacedæmon iv. 324. 328. 332 to 343, 344 to 347. 350. 356 to 365. 368, 369, 370. 372. 378. 384. 409 to 418. 421 to 424. 448, 449. 452.—v. 18. 28 to 32. 44. 47. 53, 54. 56. 59. 61. 110 to 112. 119. 125. 188. 223, 224. 230. 238, 239, 240. 246 to 251. vii. 460. 462.
Agesipolis king of Lacedæmon iv. 424 to 426.—v. 4. 25, 26. 32, 33.
Agis ii. 486.—iii. 295, 296, 297. 299, 300. 304, 305. 328, 329. 355, 356. 406, 407. 487. 493, 494.—iv. 318 to 321. 323.—vii. 435. 460.—viii. 45. 49, 50.
Agnon - - - - - - ii. 294. 383.—iii. 38.
Agora - - - - - - - - - - - i. 110.
Agrians - - - - - - - - - - vii. 256.
Agriculture - - - - - - - i. 134. v. 297.
Agrigentum - - ii. 134. 139. 141. v. 332 to 344.
Aigiopelago or Archipelago - - - - i. 148, notes.
Akesines, river of - - - - - - viii. 208 to 210.
Alcander - - - - - - - - - i. 266.
Alcæus - - - - - - - - - i. 389.
Alcibiades son of Cleinias - iii. 96 to 107. 111. 166 to 169. 172 to 175. 179 to 181. 192 to 196. 199. 209 to 213. 304. 308, 309. 311 to 313. 328 to 334. 341. 364 to 367. 371 to 373. 396 to 399. 411, 412, 413 to 423. 429 to 437. 450. 460. 478.—iv. 70 to 72.
Alcibiades the younger - - - - - - iv. 79.
Alcidas - - - - - ii. 433, 434. 436. 460. 462.
Alcmæon - - - - - - - - - i. 341.
Alcmæonids - - - - - - i. 386. 394, 395, 396.
Alcon - - - - - - - - - - vii. 165.
Alexander king of Macedonia, son of Perdiccas ii. 88, 89, 90. 105.
Alexander, son of Amyntas king of Macedonia vi. 70 to 73.
Alexander, tyrant of Pheræ - - v. 142. 193. 262.
Alexander, son of Aëropus - - - - - vii. 236.
Alexander, son of Philip, and afterwards the Great vi. 259.—vii. 187, 188. 227 to 244. 248 to 289. 321 to 371. 375 to 391. 394 to 405. 411 to 429. 437 to 442. 446 to 499.—viii. *passim.*
"Alexander's Fortune," a treatise by Plutarch vii. 418 to 421.
Alexandria, Egyptian, founded - - vii. 486, 487.
Alexandria, Paropamisan, founded - - - - viii. 93.
Amalfi - - - - - - - - - v. 264, note.
Amazons - - - - - - - - - viii. 408.

Amiantus - - - - - - - - - vii. 165.
Ammon, land of - - - - - - vii. 489 to 495.
Amomphoretus - - - - - - - ii. 108, 109.
Amorges - - - - - - - - - iii. 301.
Amphictyon - - - - - - - - i. 192. 216.
Amphictyons, council of i. 190 to 196.—vi. 198 to 202. 206 to 208. 212 to 214. 221 to 226. 236. 429. 433 to 440.—vii. 45 to 56.
Amphilochian Argos - - - - - - - - ii. 402.
Amphimnestus - - - - - - - vii. 164.
Amphipolis iii. 37. 40. 65.—vi. 112 to 117. 122 to 130. 145 to 154. 159, 160. 467.—vii. 248.
Amphissa - - - - - - - - vii. 46. 48. 50. 67.
Amyntas king of Macedonia i. 433.—vi. 61 to 65. 68 to 70. —vii. 235, 236.—viii. 75.
Anabasis, authenticity of - - - - - - iv. 294.
Anacreon - - - - - - - - - i. 391.
Anaxarchus - - - - - viii. 143 to 150. 153.
Anaxibius - - - - - - iv. 247. 435, 436.
Anchialus - - - - - - - - - vii. 426.
Andocides - - - - - - - - iv. 96 to 117.
Andrians - - - - - - - - - vii. 147.
Androcles king of Messenia - - - - - - i. 292.
Androcles Athenian - - - - - - - iii. 348.
Anglo-saxon - - - - - - - - i. 210, note.
Anippus Syracusan commander - - - - v. 75.
Anolympiads - - - - - - - - i. 256, note.
Antalcidas - iv. 408, 409. 443 to 445.—vii. 148. 151.
Antiochus king of Messenia - - - i. 292, 293.
Antiochus, Athenian commander - - - iii. 431.
Antipater - vii. 324.—viii. 50, 51. 388, 389. 392. 395.
Antiphon - - iii. 351. 374, 375. 377. 384.—iv. 45.
Aornos, siege of - - - - - - viii. 178 to 182.
Apeliotes - - - - - - - - ii. 32, note.
Apis - - - - - - - - - - - i. 26.
Apollo - - - - - - - - - - i. 185.
Apollocrates - - - - - - - - - v. 503.
Apollodorus - - - - - - - viii. 442, 443.
Apollonia - - - - - - - - - - i. 251.
Arabees - - - - - - - - - viii. 298. 302.
Arbela, battle of - - - - - - viii. 16 to 26.

Arcadia i. 13. 256.—iii. 84. 117.—v. 116 to 120. 132. 136 to 139. 180. 189, 190. 196 to 214. 228. 230. 237.—vi. 314 to 319.—vii. 287.
Archelaus king of Macedonia vi. 53 to 60.—vii. 177. 194.
Archestratus - - - - - - - - iii. 435. 488.
Archias Corinthian - - - - - - - - i. 336.
Archidameia - - - - - - - - - i. 304.
Archidamus king of Lacedæmon, son of Zeuxidamus, ii. 329. 357, 358. 363. 396, 397. 467.
Archidamus son of Agesilaus - - - - v. 140. 251.
Areians - - - - - - - - - viii. 93.
Areiopagus - - i. 367.—ii. 242.—vi. 262 to 268.
Arigæum - - - - - - - - - viii. 173.
Argaleonis - - - - - - iii. 69, 70, note.
Arginusæ - - - - - - - - - iii. 445.
Agonautic - - - - - - - - - i. 39.
Argos i. 13. 24. 171. 247 to 250. 314.—iii. 94. 112, 113. 116 to 142.—iv. 424 to 426.—v. 184. 253 to 257.—vii. 166.
Ariadne - - - - - - - - - i. 61.
Ariaspes - - - - - - - - - - vii. 299.
Ariasps - - - - - - - - - viii. 89, 90.
Ariæus - - - iv. 175. 177 to 182. 192, 193. 195.
Arimasps - - - - - - - - - viii. 90, 91.
Aristagoras - - - - - - i. 442 to 448. 456.
Aristander of Telmissus - - - viii. 111 to 113.
Aristarchus - - - iii. 374. 378, 379. 383, 384.
Aristeides ii. 59. 66. 72. 97. 180. 190 to 193. 196 to 200.
Aristocracy - - - - - - - - - i. 242.
Aristocrates Messenian - - - - - i. 304. 310.
Aristocrates iii. 333. 374, 375. 377, 378. 429. 450. 460.
Aristodemus Messenian - - - - - i. 295 to 297.
Aristodemus Spartan - - - - - - ii. 43. 117.
Aristodemus Athenian - - - vi. 376, 377, 378.
Aristodicus Cumæan - - - - - - - i. 414.
Aristomache - - - - - - - - - v. 399.
Aristomenes Messenian - - - i. 300 to 312.
Aristophanes comic poet - - i. 354, note.—iv. 130, 131.
Aristophanes son of Nicophemus - - - - iv. 86.
Aristotle i. 91.—vii. 130, 131. 147, 148. 171. 176. 207.
Aristotle on Government - - - vii. 147 to 160.
Aristus - - - - - - - - - v. 378, 379.

Armies, Lacedæmonian - - - - - - i. 281.
Arrhibæus prince of Lyncestis - - - - iii. 34.
Arrian vii. 173, 174. 216, 217. 230. 236, note. 243, note. 250. 277, note. 334, note. 335, note. 341, note. 396, note. 458, note. 476, note.—viii. 75, note. 177, note. 235, note. 244, note. 252, note. 269, note. 281, note. 282, note. 353, note. 411, note. 418, note. 436, note.
Arsames - - - - - - - - - vii. 298, 299.
Arses - - - - - - - - - vii. 318, 319.
Artabazus satrap of Bithynia ii. 76, 77. 85. 121. 211.—vi. 254. 268.—vii. 303, 304.
Artaphernes brother of Darius i. 443. 445. 453. 456. 466.
Artaphernes son of Artaphernes - - - - i. 476.
Artaxerxes - - - - - - ii. 202.—iii. 301.
Artaxerxes Mnemon - iii. 425.—iv. 142.—vii. 295. 299.
Artaxerxes Ochus - - - - - - vii. 299. 318.
Artemisia - - - - - - - - - ii. 65. 72.
Artemisium - - - - - - - - - ii. 29. 49.
Arundel marbles - - - - - - - - i. 213.
Asia Minor i. 32. 67. 69. 328, 329. 400. 408. 412. 418. 461.
character of the people of - - vii. 392 to 395.
Asia, name of - - - - - - - - vii. 355, note.
Asiatic names, orthography of - viii. 254 to 256, note.
Asiatic states, constitutions of - - - - vii. 371 to 373.
Aspasia - - - - - - - - - ii. 280. 282.
Aspendus - - - - - - - - vii. 396 to 399.
Assakene Indians - - - viii. 173 to 177. 207, 208.
Assyria - - - - - - - - i. 8. 410.—viii. 369.
Astronomy of the early Greeks - - - - - i. 150.
Astyochus Lacedæmonian - - iii. 316. 367, 368, 269.
Athenagoras - - - - - - - - - iii. 186.
Athenæus - - - - - - - - vii. 164, note.
Athenodorus Athenian - - - - - - vi. 177.
Athens, i. 4 to 46.—The principal circumstances of Athenian history are indicated in the heads of chapters and sections.
Athens - - - - - - - - - vii. 175. 412.
Athos - - - - - - - - - - ii. 4, note.
Atreus - - - - - - - - - - i. 35.
Attalus - - - - - - - - - vii. 236, note.
Attica - - - - - i. 12. 43 to 50. See Athens.
Auger - - - - - - - - - vii. 212, note.

Auger, Mr. - - - - - - viii. 399, note.
Aulis - - - - - - - - - - - i. 75.
Autariats - - - - - - - - - - vii. 258.
Azelmic - - - - - - - - - vii. 469.

B.

Babylon - - viii. 27. 370. 421 to 423. 434. 435.
Babylonians - - - - - - - - i. 5.—viii. 26.
Bacchiads - - - - - - - - - i. 250. 251.
Bacchus, sacrifice to - - - - - - viii. 445.
Bacchus's expedition to India - - viii. 186 to 188.
Bagoas - - - - - - - - vii. 314. 318 to 320.
Bardylis prince of Illyria - - - - - vi. 80. 90.
Bœotarcs - - - - - - - - - vii. 204.
Bœotia i. 12. 40. 319 to 322.—ii. 96.—iii. 23 to 32. 91. 245. —iv. 353.—v. 86, 87. 192.—vii. 102, 103. 204. 261.
Barsine married to Alexander the Great - - viii. 359.
Basháw - - - - - - - - viii. 255, 256, note.
Bazyrenes - - - - - - viii. 177, 178.
Bedouin, or Bedoween - - - - - viii. 256, note.
Bellerophon - - - - - - - - - i. 23.
Bessus viii. 58. 60. 62. 66 to 69. 82, 83. 96. 98 to 103. 117 to 120.
Beton - - - - - - - - - - vii. 229.
Blackstone - - - - - - - - - vii. 183.
Body-wardens - - - - - - - - vii. 224.
Bore in the Indus - - - - - viii. 261, note.
Bramin, orthography of - - - - - viii. 438, note.
Bramin, burning of one - - - - - viii. 440.
Bramins, eminent - - - - - - - viii. 438.
Bramins, town of - - - - - - - viii. 242.
Branchidæ, temple of Apollo there - i. 414.—vi. 212.
Brasidas ii. 366. 493, 494.—iii. 19 to 22. 32 to 54. 57. 63 to 69.
Britain - - - - - - - - - ii. 171, note.
British Constitution i. 244.—iii. 460.—vii. 189, 190. 192, 193.
Bryant, Mr. - - - - - - vii. 493, 494, note.
Bucephala - - - - - - - - viii. 204. 227.
Bucephalus - - - - - - - - viii. 203.
Byzantium - ii. 193.—vi. 135. 196.—vii. 11, 12. 40, 41.

C.

Cadmeia - - - - - - - - vii. 262 to 265.
Cadmeïs - - - - - - - - - - i. 121.
Cadmus king of Thebes - - - - - - - - i. 41.
Cadmus of Melitus - - - - - - - - i. 209.
Calanus - - - - - - - - viii. 438 to 441.
Calaurea - - - - - - - - - - i. 248.
Calchas - - - - - - - - - i. 105.
Callias Athenian - - - - - - ii. 319, 320.
Callicratidas Spartan commander iii. 438 to 443. 445 to 447.
Callippus Athenian - - - - - - v. 511, 512.
Callisthenes - viii. 143 to 150. 153 to 155. 158, 159.
Callixenus - - - - - - - - iii. 459, 475.
Calonne - - - - - - - - - vii. 189.
Callone's letter to the king of France iii. 461. 465, note.
Cambyses - - - - - - - - - i. 420. 424.
Campania - - - - - - - - - ii. 164.
Canasida - - - - - - - - viii. 318, 319.
Capua - - - - - - - - - - ii. 166.
Cardoos - - - - - - - - - iv. 217, note.
Caria - - - - - - - - - vii. 373 to 375.
Carmania - - - - - - - - - viii. 277.
Carnina - - - - - - - - - viii. 310.
Carneian festival - - - - - - - iii. 128,
Carthage i. 424.—ii. 131 to 133. 140. 145. 151.—v. 316 to 321. 328. 337 to 343. 360 to 367. 393 to 425. 432. 435 to 438. 453 to 455. 467.—vi. 1. 19 to 25. 27, 28.
Castor and Pollux, feast in honour of - viii. 150. 151.
Cattle, sent from India to Macedonia by Alexander, viii. 173.
Cecrops king of Attica - - - - - - i. 44.
Celts - - - - - - - - - - vii. 254.
Centaurs - - - - - - - - - i. 38, note.
Cephallenia - - - - - - - - - ii. 375.
Cephisodotus Athenian orator - - - - - v. 132.
Cephisodotus Athenian general - - vi. 170 to 173.
Chabrias iv. 440.—v. 48. 62.—vi. 178 to 180.—vii. 301.
Chæreas - - - - - - - - - iii. 359.
Chalcidicë - - - - - - - - ii. 85. 318.
Chaldæa - - - - - - - - - i. 410.
Chares vi. 179 to 189. 272, 273. 353 to 358. 362. 373 to 375. 384.—vii. 301.
Charœades Athenian - - - - - - iii. 157.

Charidemus of Eubœa vi. 123 to 125. 129. 165 to 167. —vii. 285, 286. 432, 433. 438.
Charitimis Athenian - - - - - - ii. 244.
Cheirisophus - - iv. 201. 231. 247, 248 to 251.
Chersonese Thracian i. 462.—vi. 125 to 128. 272 to 274.
Chios - - i. 438.—iii. 316. 344, 345. 468 to 470.—vi. 185. 196.—vii. 406.
Chivalry - - - - - - - - i. 159, note.
Chronology of Grecian history - - i. 206 to 235.
Chrysis - - - - - - - - - - iii. 58.
Cicero - - - - - - - vii. 150.—viii. 444.
Cilicia - - - - - vi. 422 to 427. 443, 444.
Cimon ii. 188, 189. 191 to 193. 196 to 199. 201 to 203. 206 to 208. 226 to 232. 234, 235. 237, 238. 261 to 263. 266, 267. 270.
Cithæron - - - - - - - - - i. 12.
Citium in Cyprus - - - - - - ii. 266.
Cleandridas Spartan - - ii. 275, 276.—iii. 212.
Cleanor - - - - - - - - iii. 193.
Clearchus - - - - - - - - iii. 147, 148.
Cleäridas - - - - - - - - - iii. 64. 68.
Cleïppides - - - - - - - - ii. 423, 424.
Cleisthenes son of Megacles - - i. 396 to 398.
Cleisthenes tyrant of Sicyon - - - - - vii. 164.
Cleitorians - - - - - - - - v. 55, 56.
Cleitus - - vii. 255 to 257. 259.—viii. 151, 152.
Cleocritus Athenian - - - - - - iv. 58.
Cleombrotus - - v. 48, 49. 61. 65. 85. 87. 89, 90.
Cleomenes king of Sparta i. 395. 397. 448. 451. 470 to 474.
Cleomenes, regent - - - - - - ii. 432.
Cleon ii. 440 to 444. 499, 500. 502 to 512.—iii. 60 to 67.
Cleophon - - - - - - - - iii. 485 to 489.
Cleopompus - - - - - - - - - ii. 367.
Clothing of soldiers and seamen - - iv. 235, note.
Clytemnestra - - - - - - - - - i. 79.
Cnemus Spartan - - - ii. 405, 406. 409. 414.
Cnidus - v. 269. - Seafight near iv. 379.
Codrus - - - - - - i. 323.—vii. 158, 159.
Cœnus - - - viii. 199, 200. 220 to 222. 236.
Coins - - - - - - - - - - i. 401.
Colophon - - - - - - - - - ii. 436.
Commerce of the early Greeks - - - - i. 138.
Composition for military service - - - v. 13.

Conon iii. 248. 435 to 438. 442, 443. 450. 476. 479, 480. 482.—iv. 377 to 380. 385, 386. 399 to 402. 408. 434.
Corcyra i. 251, 252.—ii. 295 to 310. 454 to 465.—iii. 5.—v. 67 to 72.
Corinth i. 13. 23. 250.—ii. 22. 298. 306 to 310. 319, 320. 322 to 327. 334. 348. 375. 404. 407.—iii. 3, 4. 79 to 84. 114. 116, 117. 249.—iv. 371. 399 to 396. 409 to 414.—v. 120. 133. 181 to 184. 259. 379. 505. 513.—vi. 5 to 9, 10, 11, 12. 14 to 17.—vii. 62 to 64. 68. 120. 240.
Corœbus - - - - - - - - - i. 227.
Coroneïa, battle of - - - - - - iv. 389.
Cos - - - - - - v. 265.—vi. 135. 196.
Cossees - - - - - - - - viii. 412, 413.
Cossays - - - - - - - - - viii. 85.
Cotyora; plundered by the Cyreian Greeks iv. 240.
Cotys king of Thrace - - vi. 156 to 159. 164. 168.
Crassus - - - - - - - - vii. 441.
Craterus viii. 36, 37. 108, 109. 169. 171. 179. 198, 199. 201. 258.
Crete - - - - - - - - i. 18 to 21. 245.
Crimesus, battle of - - - - - - vi. 24, 25.
Critias - - iv. 39 to 42. 45. 49 to 52. 56 to 58.
Crœsus king of Lydia - - - - - i. 408 to 412.
Crotona - - ii. 154, 155, note.—v. 443, 444.
Crypteia - - - - - - - - - i. 280.
Ctesias - - - - - - - - - vii. 294.
Ctesiphon - - - - - - viii. 393, 394.
Cuma - - - - - - - i. 333.—ii. 162. 164.
Cunaxa, battle of - - - - - - iv. 173.
Curtius vii. 178 to 180. 188, note. 229, 230. 440, note. 459, note.—viii. 24 & note. 225, note. 387, note. 411, note.
Cydnus - - - - - - - - - vii. 423.
Cydonia in Crete - - - - - - - - i. 437.
Cyllenë - - - - - - - - - i. 13.
Cynos-sema, sea-fight of - - - - - - iii. 391.
Cyprus - - - - i. 331.—ii. 7.—vii. 309, 310.
Cypselus - - - - - - - - - - i. 251.
Cyreian Greeks, or the Ten thousand iv. 145. 151. 158. 172. 177. 181, 185. 188. 192. 194. 196, 197. 199. 201. 203. 220. 230. 233, 234. 238. 240. 243. 246. 248. 251. 253. 255. 257. 259. 263. 265. 267. 269. 271. 273. 275. 277. 279. 281. 283. 285. 287. 290.
Cyrenë in Africa - - - - - - - - i. 332.

Cyropædeia - - - - - - - - vii. 150.
Cyropolis - - - - - - viii. 106 to 109.
Cyrus king of Persia i. 411 to 414. 418.—vii. 150. 158, 159.—viii. 350.
Cyrus younger son of Darius II. iii. 425 to 428.—iv. 142 to 175.—vii. 443.
Cythera - - - - - - - - - iii. 9.
Cyzicus, sea-fight of - - - - - iii. 398, 399.

D.

Damas - - - - - - - - - vii. 164.
Damascus - - - - - - - - - vii. 463.
Damon, friend of Pericles - - - - - ii. 280.
Danäus - - - - - - - - - i. 28 to 30.
Daphnæus, general of the Syracusans v. 338. 340. 358. 362.
Dardanus - - - - - - - - - i. 70.
Darius i. 425 to 427, note. 430 to 432. 442. 457. 464, 465. 467.—ii. 1.—vii. 429 to 436. 439 to 468.—viii. 9 to 26. 41 to 60.
Darius II. - - - - - - iii. 425. iv. 142.
Darius, Nothus - - - - - - vii. 290 to 299.
Datames - - - - - - - - vii. 301.
Daurises, a Persian general - - - - i. 455, 456.
Day-book of Alexander the Great vii. 229.—viii. 447 to 453. 456 to 462.
Decęleia in Attica - - - - - - - iii. 237.
Deinon - - - - - - - vii. 293, 294. 313.
Delium, battle of - - - - - - iii. 26 to 28.
Delolme - - - - - - - - vii. 188.
Delphi i. 183 to 190. 294. 301. 376. 411.—ii. 16 to 18. 30. 54 to 57. 83.—vi. 203 to 207. 209 to 212. 214. 277. 281. 390 to 394.
Delphion - - - - - - - - - v. 29 to 31.
Demades - - - - - - - - vii. 283, 284.
Demaratus, king of Sparta - - i. 470. 471.—ii. 14.
Demaratus, Corinthian - - - - - - ii. 149.
Demetrius, son of Pythonax - - - - - viii. 150.
Democracy - - - - - i. 242.—vii. 154. 208. 246.
Demosthenes, the General ii. 470 to 475. 477 to 485. 487 to 494. 505 to 511.—iii. 15. 23 to 25. 238. 247 to 249. 256 to 264. 271, 272. 280, 281. 285.
Demosthenes the Orator - - - his descent, &c. vi. 302, &c. political outset, 306, &c.—orations, &c. 316. 324 to 328.

332. 334. 340 to 343. 345 to 353. 357 to 366. 368.—diplomatic missions, &c. 369. 371. 373. 376. 378. 381. 400 to 409. 423 to 431.—oration on the peace, 447.—2d philippic, &c. 457. 468.—3d philippic, 487 to 489.—1st minister, 490.—negotiation with, and offices for the Persian court, vii. 7.—embassy to Thrace, 12.—4th philippic, 18.—on the letter, 29 to 35.—measures against Macedonia, vii. 35 to 43.—concedes the lead in public business, 44.—again obtains preëminence, 51. 58 to 62. 78. 81. 83. 88.—embassy to Thebes, 88. 90, &c.—his exertions in prosecuting hostilities against Philip, 93 to 96.—his flight, and return, 98. 106.—oration on the slain at Chæroneia, 107 to 109. 115 to 118, note.—his public conduct on the death of Philip, 123, 124.—little information in his speeches respecting the constitution and state of parties in Greece, 207.—exerts all his abilities against Alexander, 238.—and to excite troubles for Macedonia, 246.—his consideration at the Persian court, 261.—a golden crown proposed to be presented to him, viii. 393.—his speech on this subject noticed - - - - - 399.

Dercyllidas - - - iv. 300, 301. 303 to 308. 333.

Dermot - - - - - - - - - - i. 81.

Despotism - - - - - - - - - vii. 207.

Deucalion - - - - - - - - i. 191.—vi. 201.

Dexippus - - - v. 336, 337. 339. 350, 351. 358.

Diactorides - - - - - - - - - vii. 165.

Dicæarchia - - - - - - - - - ii. 166.

Dïitrephes - - - - - - - - - iii. 246.

Dillettanti society - - - - - - - viii. 229, note.

Dïocles - - - - - - - - v. 312 to 314.

Diodorus historian v. 305 to 307.—vii. 178. 229. 243, note. 267. 269, note. 277, note. 299, note. 309, note. 341, note. 345, note. 351, note. 368, note. 379, note. 380, note. 396, note. 433, note. 438, note.—viii. 9, note. 20, note. 52, note. 75, note. 177, note. 411, note.

Diodotus - - - - - - - - ii. 443.—vii. 229.

Diogenes - - - - - - - - - - vii. 63.

Diognetus - - - - - - - - - - vii. 229.

Diomedon - - - - - - iii. 445. 447. 450. 460.

Diomilus - - - - - - - - - iii. 218.

Dion - v. 479. 483 to 493. 495 to 497. 499 to 509.

Dionysius of Syracuse v. 66. 134. 345 to 350. 353 to 359. 361 to 368. 370 to 477.—vii. 212.

Dionysius the younger v. 479 to 486. 488 to 492. 495. 497 to 502. 513.—vi. 1. 13. 16, 17. 42 to 44.
Dionysus or Bacchus, sacrifice to - - - - viii. 190.
Diopeithes - - - - - - - - - vi. 481, 482.
Diphridas - - - - - - - - - iv. 428.
Divernois - - - - - - - - - vii. 189.
Dodona - - - - - - i. 180, 181.—vii. 162. 490.
Dodwell - - - - - - - - - viii. 282.
Dorieus - - - - - - - - - iii. 394.
Doris - - - - - - - - - - - i. 12.
Doris daughter of Xenetus; married to Dionysius v. 398.
Drangies - - - - - - - - - viii. 252.
Dryden - - - - - - - - - - viii. 38.
Ducetius king of the Sicels - - - iii. 151 to 153.
Dymë - - - - - - - - - - i. 13.

E.

Earth and Water; given as an acknowlegement of subjection - - - - - - - - i. 399.—ii. 11.
Earthquake - - - - - - ii. 232.—iii. 304.
Eclipse of the moon; effect of - - - iii. 265.
Ecspondi - - - - - - - - - ii. 452.
Edessa - - - - - - - - - - vi. 65.
Egesta in Sicily - - iii. 165. 167, 168. 189. 200.
Egypt i. 6. 26. 86. 420 to 424.—ii. 244 to 246.—vii. 480 to 499.
Eira - - - - - - - - i. 305. 307 to 310.
Elateia - - - - - - - - - - vii. 76.
Eleia - - - - - - - - - i. 203, 204. 254.
Eleimiotis; a province of Macedonia - - ii. 313.
Elephant hunters - - - - - - - viii. 185.
Elis i. 13.—iii. 84. 108, 109.—iv. 319 to 323.—v. 108. 188 to 191. 196. 201 to 203. 214.
Enspondi - - - - - - - - - ii. 452.
Epameinondas v. 51. 120, 121. 125. 129, 130. 143. 151. 155 to 158. 212, 213. 217 to 233.
Eparites; Arcadian militia - - - - - v. 197.
Ephesus - - - - - - - - vii. 356 to 363.
Ephialtes - - - - - - - - - ii. 240. 242.
Ephors - - - - - - - - - - i. 317.
Epidamnus - - - - - - - i. 251.—ii. 297.
Epidaurus - - - - i. 13.—iii. 112 to 115. 129. 131.

Epimenelides Cretan - - - - - i. 349, 350.
Epipolæ - - - - - - iii. 217. 219. 258. 287.
Epirus - - - - - - i. 11.—vi. 254.—vii. 162.
Epitadas - - - - - - - ii. 507, 508. 510.
Epyaxa, queen of Cilicia - - - iv. 153, 154.
Eratosthenes librarian of Alexandria; his chronological system - - - - - - - - i. 211.
Erechtheus, or Erichthonius; soverein of Attica - i. 48.
Esau; his migration noticed - - - - - i. 16.
Eteonicus Lacedæmonian general - iii. 468 to 470.
Eubœa i. 326.—ii. 275, 276.—iii. 298 to 300.—vi. 137 to 143. 329 to 332.
Eucles Athenian - - - - - - - iii. 37.
Eudamidas Lacedæmonian - - - - v. 14.
Eulæus, voyage down the - - - - - viii. 372.
Eumenes - - - - - vii. 229.—viii. 409, 410. 433.
Euphaës king of Messenia - - - i. 293, 294. 296.
Euphamidas - - - - - - - - ii. 373.
Euphorion - - - - - - - - vii. 165.
Euphrates - - - - - i. 5.—viii. 8, 9. 424. 430.
Euphron of Sicyon - - - v. 165 to 170. 174.
Euripides - - - - - ii. 284.—iii. 289.—viii. 415.
Eurotas - - - - - - - - - - i. 13.
Eurybiades - - - - - - - - ii. 45. 66.
Eurydice queen of Macedonia - - - vi. 74, 75.
Eurymedon, battle of the - - - - - - ii. 207.
Eurymedon, Athenian ii. 464, note. 494.—iii. 5. 7. 235.
Euryptolemus Athenian - - - - - - iii. 455.
Euristheus king of Argos - - - - - i. 33 to 35.
Eurytus, Spartan - - - - - - - - ii. 43.
Evagoras prince of Salamis iv. 375 to 378.—v. 241 to 244.

F.

Fate - - - - - - - - - - - - i. 96.
Fish-eaters - - - - - - - - - viii. 308.
Fleet of Nearchus - - - - - viii. 283 to 286.
Forein troops - - - - - - - - - vii. 176.
France - - iv. 53, 54, note.—vii. 192. 195. 221.
French orthography of Asiatic names viii. 255, 256, note.

G.

Gadrosia, commerce of - - - - - viii. 268. 312.
Galley - - - - - ii. 77 to 80.—iii. 255, note.
Games of Greece - - - i. 198 to 201. 204 to 206.
Gaugamela, battle of - - - - - viii. 16 to 26.
Gauls - - - - - - - - - - vii. 254.
Gaza - - - - - - - - - vii. 478 to 480.
Gela - - - - ii. 134.—v. 350, 351. 360 to 364.
Gellias of Agrigentum - - - - - - v. 333.
Gelon of Syracuse ii. 135 to 139. 141 to 145.—iii. 144 to 148.
Geneva - - - - - - - - - - vii. 152.
Getes - - - - - - ii. 371.—vii. 152, 153.
Gibbon - - - - - - - - viii. 255, note.
Glaucias - - - - - - vii. 255. 257 to 259.
Glausees or Glaucaneeks - - - - viii. 205, 206.
Gongylus - - - - - - - - iii. 226.
Gordian knot - - - - - - vii. 414 to 416.
Gordium - - - - - - - vii. 411, 412.
Gorgias, of Leontini - - - - - iii. 156.
Government of the early Greeks - i. 107 to 116. 243.
Granicus, battle of the - - - vii. 348 to 354.
Grecian constitutions - - - vii. 196 to 207.
Griffins - - - - - - - - - viii. 90.
Gronovius vii. 174, note. 234, note. 246, note. 252, note. 336, note. 347, note.—viii. 8, note. 345, note. 457, note.
Gulschardt - - - - - - vii. 254, note.
Gyges Lydian - - - - - - - i. 403.
Gylippus iii. 213. 224 to 232. 238 to 241. 251 to 253. 259. 263. 267. 269. 272. 274. 279, 280. 284 to 286.

H.

Hales, Dr. - - - - - - - vii. 479, note.
Halicarnassus - - - i. 329.—vii. 374. 376 to 381.
Halonesus - - - - vi. 465, 466. 469. 491.
Hannibal, Carthaginian general in Sicily v. 316. 318, 319. 321. 323. 329. 337, 338.
Hanno - - - - - - - - - vi. 12.
Harmodius and Aristogeiton - - - i. 392. 490.
Harmost, office of - - - - - iii. 320.
Harmoza - - - - - - viii. 323, & note.

Harpalus - - - - - - - viii. 402 to 406.
Hecatæus of Miletus - - - - - i. 209. 446.
Hegesistratus - - - - - - - - - ii. 122.
Helicon - - - - - - - - - - i. 12.
Helos - - - - - - - - - - - i. 279.
Helots - - - i. 279, 280.—ii. 232 to 235.—iii. 18.
Hephæstion - vii. 456.—viii. 80. 364, 365. 410, 411.
Heracleia - - - - - - - - - v. 103.
Heracleides of Syracuse v. 482 to 485. 487, 488. 492. 495. 497 to 502. 504. 506.
Heracleids - - - - - - - i. 34. 172 to 174.
Hercules, or Heracles - - - - - i. 33, 34.
Hermocrates of Syracuse iii. 161, 162. 184 to 186. 205 to 208. 217. 220. 223. 238. 240, 241. 251, 252. 264. 269. 274. 284. 402 to 404.—v. 321 to 326.
Hermolaus - - - - - - viii. 155 to 158.
Herodotus i. 209. 227. 397, note. 432, note.—ii. 13. 16.—viii. 163.
Hesiod - - - - - - - - i. 89, 90. 115. 218.
Hieromnemon - - - - - - - - - i. 195.
Hieron of Syracuse - - - - - - - iii. 144.
Himera, battle of ii. 141. 145, 146, 147, 148, note.—v. 320.
Hipparchus, son of Peisistratus - - i. 390 to 393.
Hipparinus - - - - - - - - v. 354. 512.
Hippias, son of Peisistratis i. 390 to 394. 451, 452. 478.
Hippocleides - - - - - - - - vii. 165.
Hippocrates Spartan - - - - - - iii. 322.
Hippocrates Athenian - - - - - iii. 23 to 27. 29.
Histiæus of Miletus - - - i. 441. 445. 457.
Homer i. 89. 113, 114. 167, note. 168 to 171. 219 to 226.—vii. 157, note. 159, 160. 172.
Hooke - - - - - - - - viii. 229, note.
Horsemanship - - - - - - - - - i. 140.
Hydaspes, battle of - - - - - viii. 197 to 202.
Hydraotes - - - - - - viii. 210, 211.
Hypaspists - - - vii. 347, note.—viii. 170, note.
Hyperbolus Athenian - - - iii. 100. 166, 167.

I.

Idolatry - - - - - - - - - - i. 99.
Idomenæ, battle of - - - - - - - ii. 483.
Idomeneus Cretan - - - - - - - - i. 246.

Illyria - - - vi. 62. 80. 90.—vii. 256, 257.
Imilcon Carthaginian general in Sicily v. 329. 337 to 341. 343. 360. 363. 366. 405, 406. 411. 414. 416, 417. 421. 424, 425.
Immortality, doctrine of, among the Greeks - i. 306.
Inârus Egyptian - - - - - - - - ii. 244.
India, natural circumstances of - - viii. 163 to 165. northern part of beyond the Indus, 191, 192.—trade and navigation, 232.—geography - - - 234.
Indian cattle sent to Macedonia by Alexander viii. 173.
Indian people, character of - - - - - viii. 177.
Indian states, constitution of - - viii. 204 to 207.
Indus, river of viii. 191, 192. 233.—bore in, 261, note.
Invasion of England - - - - vii. 343, note.
Io - - - - - - - - - - - i. 28.
Ionia - - - - - - - - - - - i. 402.
Ionïc - - - - - - - - - - - i. 328.
Iphicrates iv. 403. 405, 406, 412. 414. 417, 418. 435, 436.—v. 72 to 77. 79, 80. 128, 129.—vi. 74. 122 to 124. 129. 183 to 186.
Iphigeneia - - - - - - - - - i. 75.
Ireland - - - - - - - - - - i. 81.
Isadas - - - - - - - - - - v. 224.
Ismenias - - - - - - - - - v. 15 to 19.
Isocrates vi. 189 to 195. 262. 294. 413 to 423.—vii. 55. 110 to 115. 151.
Isocrates Corinthian - - - - - - ii. 407.
Isocrates, letters of - - - - - vii. 209 to 216.
Issus, battle of - - - - - - vii. 447 to 465.
Isthmian - - - - - - - iii. 307.—iv. 411.
Italy - - - - - - i. 332.—ii. 147 to 169.
Ithomë - - - - - - - - i. 294. 298.

J.

Julius Cæsar - - - - - viii. 230, 231. 425.
Jason - - - - - - - - - - i. 40.
Jason of Pheræ - - - - - - - v. 95 to 104.
Jews - - - - - - - - - - vii. 185.
Jupiter - - - - - - - - - i. 94.
Jupiter Ammon - - - - - - - vii. 491.
Justin - - - - - - - vii. 229. 457, note.

K.

Kersobleptes king of Thrace - vi. 170. 173. 387, 388.
Khan, or Khawn - - - - - - - - viii. 254.
Killuta - - - - - - - - - viii. 261.
Kingly office and dignity, controversy on viii. 145 to 150.
Knights at Athens - - - - - - - - ii. 263.

L.

Lacedæmon, or Sparta i. 36.—The principal circumstances of Lacedæmonian history are indicated in the heads of chapters and sections.
Lacedæmon, Thessaly, and Rome, comparative views of the constitutions of - - - - - vii. 196 to 201.
Lacedæmonius, son of Cimon - - - - - ii. 305.
Laches Athenian - - - - - - - - - ii. 466.
Laconia - - - - - - - - - - - i. 13.
Laïs - - - - - - - - - - - iii. 201.
Lamachus Athenian - - - - - iii. 169. 192, 193.
Langarus - - - - - - - - - vii. 256.
Language - - - - - - - - - i. 122.
Laphanes - - - - - - - - - vii. 165.
Larissa - - - - - - - - - iv. 207, note.
Legislation in Macedonia - - - vii. 181 to 186.
Leichas Lacedæmonian - - - - - - iii. 109.
Leleges - - - - - - - - - - i. 326.
Leocedes - - - - - - - - - vii. 164.
Leonidas - - - - - - - - ii. 28. 36 to 42.
Leontiades - - - - - - v. 15. to 18. 39.
Leonnatus - - - - - - - viii. 305 to 307.
Leontini - - - - iii. 155 to 157.—v. 383. 427.
Leotichydas - - - - - - ii. 122 to 125. 128.
Leptines, brother of Dionysius v. 405. 407. 415. 423. 443. 454.
Lesbos - - i. 437.—ii. 421. 424. 445.—iii. 299, 300.
Letters - - - - - - - - i. 119. 123 to 131.
Lewis XIV. - - - - - - - - - viii. 375.
Limnæ - - - - - - - - - - i. 290.
Livy - - - - - - - vii. 162. 171, note. 180.
Locris - - - - - - - - - i. 12.—iv. 350.
Lucanians - - - - - - - - - v. 440. 442.
Lucca - - - - - - - - - - vii. 152.
Lyciscus Messenian - - - - - - - i. 295.

Lycomedes of Mantineia v. 132. 136, 137. 149. 180, 181.
Lycurgus of Sparta - i. 258 to 289.—iv. 436.—vii. 152.
Lycurgus, son of Aristolaïdes - - - - i. 377. 384.
Lycurgus, orator - - - - - - - vii. 99.
Lydia - - - - i. 401 to 403. 406 to 410. 412.
Lyncestis - - - - - - - - - vii. 173.
Lyncus, or Lyncestis - - - ii. 313.—iii. 17.—vi. 70.
Lysander - iii. 427 to 429. 431, 432. 438, 439. 471 to 475. 477. 479 to 483. 485, 486. 493 to 495.
Lysanias - - - - - - - - - vii. 165.
Lysias - - - - - - - - - iv. 46.
Lysicles - - - - - - - - - vii. 100.
Lyttelton - - - - - - - - viii. 261, note.

M.

Maccabees - - - - - - vii. 478, 479, note.
Macedonia - i. 11.—ii. 35. 311. 316.—iii. 17.—vi. 46 to 94. 119 to 121. 145 to 163. 253 to 259. 281 to 284. 332. 338, 339. 355. 360 to 364. 378. 387. 396. 399. 413. 426. 437. 461. 465. 476. 491.—vii. 13. 16. 65. 85. 92. 96. 119 to 123. 143 to 146. 171 to 196. 217 to 226. 246. 260. 289. 323 to 327.—viii. 44 to 52.
Macedonia, constitution of the kingdom of vii. 171 to 196.
Macedonians, character of - - - - vii. 216, 217.
Machon Corinthian - - - - - - - ii. 407.
Magarsus - - - - - - - - - vii. 429.
Magon Carthaginian - - - - - - - v. 454.
Malea promontory - - - - - - - i. 13.
Males - - - - - - - - - - vii. 164.
Mallians - - - - - - - viii. 239 to 242.
Mallus - - - - - - - - - - vii. 429.
Mania satrapess of Æolia - - - iv. 301 to 303.
Manners of the early Greeks - - - i. 153 to 170.
Manners of the Macedonians - - vii. 222 to 226.
Mantineia iii. 123.— v. 2 to 6. 109 to 112. 115. 205 to 207. 230.
Marathon - - - - - - - - - - i. 484.
Mardians - - - - - - - - - viii. 64, 65.
Mardonius i. 466 to 468.—ii. 87. 93. 97. 103. 105. 109. 111, 112.
Marmara - - - - - - - - - vii. 395.

Marriage, between brothers and sisters, esteemed creditable at Athens, and in Caria - - - - - vii. 374.
Marriages of Greeks with Persians - - viii. 360, 361.
Masistius Persian - - - - - - - ii. 97. 99.
Masonry of the early Greeks - - - - - i. 136.
Masïlia or Marseille - - - - - - i. 417.
Media - - - - - - - - - - i. 411.
Medius of Lanssa - - - - - - viii. 446. 450.
Megabazus - - - - - - - - - ii. 257.
Megacles - - - - - i. 343. 384.—vii. 165.
Megalopolis - - - - - v. 116.—vi. 312 to 316.
Megara i. 345.—ii. 238. 246 to 248. 370.—iii. 13 to 15. 20 to 23.—v. 260. 265.—vi. 450.
Mellon of Thebes - - - - - - - - v. 37.
Melos - - - - - - iii. 138 to 140.—vii. 242.
Melvill general - - - - - - - - ii. 78.
Memnon vii. 323. 331. 342 to 346. 376 to 378. 400, 401. 406 to 410.
Memphis - - - - - - vii. 481 to 483. 495.
Menestheus - - - - - - - - - i. 67.
Menon Thessalian - iv. 154 to 156. 162. 167. 192. 194.
Mentor - - - - - vii. 307 to 309. 323. 330, 331.
Mercuries; mutilation of - - - - - - i. 99.
Mesopotamian rivers, floods of - - - - - viii. 424.
Messena in Sicily i. 312, 313.—v. 391. 415. 429 to 431.
Messenia - - - - - i. 13. 289 to 314.—v. 130.
Methonë in Messenia - - - - - - i. 305.
Methonë in Macedonia - - vi. 270, 271. 279 to 281.
Migration - - - - - - - - - - i. 4.
Miletus i. 403. 406. 442. 445. 457. 460.—ii. 290.—iii. 317, 318.—vii. 364 to 368.
Military service i. 370.—When first compounded for, v. 13.
Miltiades - i. 462 to 465. 479. 482 to 488. 490 to 492.
Mindarus Spartan iii. 369. 386. 388 to 390. 394. 396, 397, 398.
Minerva - - - - - - - - i. 45. 63.—ii. 359.
Minos - - - - - - - i. 19. 59, 60.—vii. 152.
Mithranes - - - - - - - - - - vii. 357.
Mitylenë ii. 421 to 428. 432 to 434. 438. 441 to 444.—iii. 443. 445. 448.
Mnasippus Lacedæmonian - - v. 67, 68. 71, 72.
Molossis - - - - - - vii. 161 to 171. 172.
Monarchy - - - - i. 237. 240.—vii. 156 to 160.

Monsoon - - - - - - - - - viii. 286, 287.
Montesquieu - - - - - - - viii. 119, 120.
Mosaic history - - - - - - - - - - i. 3.
Music of the early Greeks - - - - - - i. 133.
Musicanus - - - - - - - viii. 253 to 256.
Mycalē, battle of - - - - - - ii. 123 to 127.
Mycenæ - - - - - - - - - ii. 236, 237.
Myronides Athenian - - ii. 247, 248. 253, 254. 259.
Myrrh-bearing trees - - - - - - - viii. 270.

N.

Naples - - - - - - - - ii. 166.—vii. 375.
Nard - - - - - - - - - - viii. 270.
Nations, antient law of - - - - - - viii. 228. 230.
Naval action; manner of among the Greeks - ii. 67.
Navigation, origin of i. 7.—State of among the Greeks ii. 68.
Naxos or Naxus - - - - - i. 442 to 445. ii. 205.
Naxus - - - - - - - - - i. 336.—v. 487.
Nearchus - - - vii. 228.—viii. 449.—voyage of viii. 281 to 347. - - - - - - See Vincent.
Neoptolemus Pyrrhus - - - - - vii. 163. 379.
New Forest - - - - - - - viii. 261, note.
Nicæa - - - - - - - - - viii. 204, 227.
Nicias ii. 439, 440. 468. 503, 504.—iii. 3, 4. 62. 73. 105, 106. 165, 166. 169 to 172. 175 to 178. 191. 200 to 204. 215. 222, 223. 227 to 235. 238. 252, 253. 256 to 265. 270, 271. 273. 276 to 280. 282 to 285.—iv. 85.
Nicomedes - - - - - - - - ii. 250, 251.
Nicophemus - - - - - - - - - iv. 86.
Nicostratus - - - - - - ii. 458 to 461. 464, note.
Nicoteles - - - - - - - - - - v. 379.
Notium, sea-fight off - - - - - - - iii. 431.
Nyssa - - - - - - - - viii. 186 to 189.

O.

Ochus. See Artaxerxes Ochus.
Œta - - - - - - - - - - - i. 12.
Œnophyta, battle of - - - - - - - ii. 253.
Ogyges - - - - - - - - - i. 43, 44. 215.
Oligarchy - - - - - - - - - i. 241.

Olpœ, battle of - - - - - - - - - ii. 481.
Olympia, battle of - - - - - - - v. 202.
Olympiad, Olympian Games i. 201 to 206. 227, 228, 229.—
Macedonian Olympian festival vi. 362.—vii. 218 to 221.
Olympiad Macedonian - - - - - - vii. 289.
Olympias - - - - - - - - vi. 254.—vii. 122.
Olympus - - - - - - - - - - i. 11.
Olynthus ii. 85.—v. 8 to 10. 14. 21 to 24. 32 to 34.—vi. 62.
64 to 67. 114 to 117. 119. 125. 145 to 152. 342 to 350.
353 to 361. 365.
Omares - - - - - - - - - vii. 352.
Omens - - - - - - - - viii. 437, 438.
Oneisicritus - - - - - vii. 228.—viii. 288, 289.
Onomarchus - - - - vi. 249 to 251. 281 to 284.
Onomastus - - - - - - - - - vii. 165.
Opis - - - - - - - viii. 373, note. 376.
Ora - - - - - - - - - viii. 177 to 179.
Oracles - - - - - - i. 177 to 190. 414, 415.
Orchomenians - - - - - - - v. 55, 56.
Orestes, son of Agamemnon - - - - - - i. 171.
Orætes, satrap of Sardis - - - - - - i. 437.
Orestes, king of Thessaly - - - - - ii. 259.
Orites - - - - - - - - - viii. 267.
Orobatis - - - - - - - - - viii. 179.
Orphic poems - - - - - - - - i. 89.
Orthography - - - - - - - i. 12, note.
O'Ruark, king of Leitrim - - - - - i. 81.
Ostracism - - - - - - - - ii. 59. 241.
Oxathres - - - - - - - vii. 451, 452.
Oxus - - - - - - - viii. 98 to 101.
Oxyartes - - - - - - - viii. 133 to 138.
Oxyartes, siege of that fort - - - viii. 134, 135.
Oxyartes's daughter married to Alexander - viii. 135.
Oxycanus - - - - - - - viii. 254.
Oxydracs - - - - - - - viii. 249, 250.
Ozolian Locris - - - - ii. 476.—vi. 238.

P.

Pachès Athenian - - ii. 427. 432. 436 to 438. 446.
Pactolus, battle of the - - - - - iv. 342.
Pactyas - - - - - - - - - i. 413 to 416.
Pæan - - - - - - - - - ii. 413, note.

Pædaritus Lacedæmonian - - - iii. 320. 344.
Pæstum, or Poseidonia, in Italy ii. 160, 161. 168, 169, note.
Pages of Alexander, their conspiracy viii. 155 to 158.
Pagondas Theban - - - - - - iii. 26.
Pallenë, or Pellenë, city of Achaia v. 131, note. 153.
Pallenë, town of Laconia - - - - v. 131.
Pallenë, peninsula - - - - - - vi. 355.
Pan - - - - - - - - - i. 479.
Panænus - - - - - - - - ii. 284.
Pantites Spartan - - - - - - ii. 43.
Paphlagonia - - - - - - vii. 417, 418.
Parætacene - - - - viii. 53. 134 to 138.
Paris - - - - - - - - - i. 73.
Parmenio vi. 387. 389.—vii. 132, 133. 248. 324. 332, 333. 385 to 387. 389. 424. 452. 463. 477, 478.—viii. 21, 22. 72 to 80.
Parnes - - - - - - - - - i. 12.
Parnassus - - - - - - - - - i. 12.
Paropamisan Alexandria founded - - - viii. 93.
Pasargadæ - - - - - - - See Persepolis.
Parrhasius - - - - - - - ii. 284.
Passaron - - - - - - - - vii. 162.
Pasirees - - - - - - - - viii. 310.
Pausanias, commander-in-chief of Grecian army ii. 95. 193 to 197. 211 to 214.
Pausanius, king of Lacedæmon iv. 64 to 66. 352 to 354.
Pattala - - - viii. 257 to 259. 264. 294, 295.
Pausanias Macedonian - - - - - vii. 123.
Peisander - iii. 336. 338 to 341. 346, 347. 349, 350.
Peisistratus - - - - - - i. 378 to 390.
Peithagoras - - - - - - viii. 442, 443.
Pelasgians - - - - - - - i. 25.
Pelion - - - - - - - - i. 11.
Pella, capital of Macèdonia - - - - vi. 65.
Pelopidas v. 51, 52. 86. 88 to 92. 142. 145, 146. 150. 156.
Peloponnesus - - - - - - i. 12.
Pelops - - - - - - - - i. 32. 35.
Peneius - - - - - - - - i. 37.
Perdiccas I. - - - - - - - ii. 312.
Perdiccas II. ii. 121. 315, 316. 320. 373. 417 to 420.—iii. 17. 34, 35. 42. 51, 52. 54. 56.
Perdiccas III. - - - - - - vi. 73. 80.
Periæcians - - - - - - - vii. 153.

Pericles ii. 240, 241. 243. 275, 276. 278. 280 to 295. 305. 311. 338 to 345. 357, 358 to 360. 364. 368. 370. 373 to 375. 382. 384 to 388. 391 to 394.—vii. 166.
Perga - - - - - - - - - vii. 397.
Persagadæ - - - - - - See Persepolis.
Persepolis - - - - - - - viii. 38 to 40.
Perseus - - - - - - - - - i. 31.
Persia i. 411. 420. 425 to 429. 440. 455. 460. 466. 476. 481. 484.—ii. 1 to 11. 28 to 39. 44. 48 to 55. 62. 69. 75 to 77. 85. 87. 97. 111. 114. 121. 123. 125. 128. 201 to 208.—iii. 301. 313. 323 to 326. 343.—iv. 141. 151. 296. 300. 344. 347. 418. 447.—v. 107. 242. 245.—vi. 335.—vii. 146. 245. 290 to 320. 330 to 333. 339, 340. 344 to 391. 400 to 411. 422 to 468.—viii. 8 to 40. 53 to 69. 81 to 96. 123 to 129.
Persia described - - - i. 411.—viii. 82 to 86.
Persian gulph, voyage up the - - viii. 337 to 347.
Persian palace, burning of - - - viii. 38, 39.
Pestilence at Athens - - - ii. 376 to 381. 466, 467.
Peucestas - - - - - - - viii. 364. 435.
Phæacia - - - - - - - - - i. 110.
Phalæcus, general of Phocis - - - vi. 292, 293.
Phalius - - - - - - - - - ii. 296.
Pharasmanes - - - - - - viii. 121, 122.
Pharnabazus iii. 303. 363. 400. 404. 412. 415 to 417.—iv. 357, 358, 359 to 364. 378, 379. 386. 399 to 401.—vii. 303, 304.
Pharsalus - - - - - - - - v. 96.
Phayllus general of Phocis - - - vi. 290 to 292.
Pheidias - - - - - - - - - ii. 284.
Pheidon - - - - - - - - - vii. 165.
Phenicia - - i. 7.—ii. 129.—vii. 305 to 306. 462.
Phialeia - - - - - - - - - v. 258.
Philip son of Amyntas - - v. 142.—King of Macedonia vi. 81 to 83. 85 to 93. 119 to 121. 146. 148 to 156. 158 to 163. 254, 255. 257 to 259. 280 to 289. 338, 339. 344 to 346. 354. 357 to 360. 368, 369. 376, 377. 380. 404. 411. 414, 415. 423 to 429. 437 to 440. 452, 453. 461 to 464. 466 to 473. 476 to 479. 491.—vii. 13, 14. 16, 17. 19 to 29. 36. 54 to 56. 65 to 67. 72. 74. 76. 82. 86, 87. 95. 101. 103. 119 to 123. 125 to 142. 208, 209. 214 to 226. 317, 318.

Philip, an Acarnanian, physician to Alexander the Great. vii. 424.
Philiscus - - - - - - - - - v. 140.
Philistus of Syracuse - - - - - v. 346. 493.
Philocrates - - - - - - - - vi. 453.
Philomelus general of the Phocians vi. 225 to 227. 229, 230. 232 to 239. 241 to 243.
Philosophers following Alexander's court - viii. 140.
Philosophy - - - - - - - - iv. 120.
Philotas and others, trial of - - - viii. 69 to 80.
Phlius - - iv. 404.—v. 6. 27. 29. 31. 158 to 165.
Phocæa - - - - - - - - - i. 416.
Phocion - - - vi. 295. 334.—vii. 8. 10 to 12. 14.
Phocis i. 12.—ii. 249.—iv. 350.—vi. 203. 218 to 226. 228 to 239. 242 to 251. 281 to 284. 290 to 293. 318. 320. 370. 377. 394. 397. 425, 426. 428. 435. 437.
Phœbidas - - - - - v. 14 to 16. 18. 57.
Phormion ii. 294. 321. 390. 403, 404. 407 to 414. 416.
Phoroneus - - - - - - - - - i. 24.
Phrynichus ii. 317, 318. 334 to 337. 339. 351. 375, 376.
Phyllidas - - - - - - - - v. 37 to 39.
Physic - - - - - - - - - i. 152.
Pindar - - - - i. 253, note. 408.—vii. 280.
Piracy - - - - - - - - viii. 331.
Piratical republics - - - - - vii. 145.
Pisidia - - - - - - vii. 402 to 404.
Platæa ii. 108. 346 to 353, 395 to 401. 429 to 432. 447 to 453.
Plato - - - - - v. 465.—vii. 149, 150.
Pleistoanax - - - - - ii. 275.—iii. 73.
Plutarch v. 42, note. 307 to 311.—vii. 162. 229. 243, note. 267, note. 272, note. 281, note. 282, note. 284, note. 300, note. 309, note. 418 to 421.—viii. 35, note. 39. 70. 202, note. 406, note. 447 to 453. 456 to 458.
Poetry - - - - - - - - - i. 131.
Polity of Aristotle - - - - vii. 147 to 160.
Polles - - - - - - - - - iii. 64.
Polyaces - - - - - - vii. 213, note.
Polybiades - - - - - - - - v. 33.
Polybius - - - - - vii. 171, note. 180.
Polycrates - - - - - - i. 434 to 437.
Polydamas - - - v. 96. 99, 100.—vii. 213.
Polydamidus - - - - - - - iii. 51. 55.
Polytheism - - - - - - i. 92.

Poora - - - - - - - - - - viii. 275.
Pope - - - - - - - - - viii. 228, note.
Porus - - - - viii. 194 to 207. 210. 213, 214. 224.
Potidæa - - - - - - ii. 84, 85. 316. 391.
Praxitas - - - - - - - - iv. 394, 395. 398.
Prognostics, respect for - - - - - viii. 441 to 444.
Property - - - - - - - - - - i. 163.
Prostration, ceremony of - - - - - viii. 148 to 150.
Proxenus - - - - - - - - iv. 149. 192. 194.
Prytanes - - - - - - - - - - i. 363.
Psammenitus - - - - - - - - i. 422. 424.
Psammitichus - - - - - - - - - ii. 14. 21.
Ptolemy, son of Lagus - viii. 169, 170. 180 to 182.
Ptolemy - - - - - - - - - vii. 228.
Ptolemy, son of Seleucus - - - - - - vii. 460.
Pydna - - - - - - - - - - vii. 195.
Pylagore - - - - - - - - - - i. 194.
Pylus - - - - - ii. 438 to 491. 493, 494. 511.
Pylus, a town of Eleia - - - - - v. 190, 191.
Pythagoras - - - - i. 337.—ii. 152. 154, 155, note.
Pythen - - - - - - - - - iii. 225.
Pythian games - - - - - - - - i. 186.

R.

Ragusa - - - - - - - - - vii. 152.
Raleigh - - - - - - - - i. 441.—ii. 245.
Rambacia - - - - - viii. 269. 304 to 307.
Ravens, story of - - - - - vii. 492, 493, note.
Rennell, major - - - - - viii. 267, note.
Republican Greek philosophers in Alexander's court viii. 140 to 145.
Rhegium - - iii. 155.—v. 390. 431. 441. 444. 447.
Rhetoricians - - - - - - - - - iv. 78.
Rhodes i. 329.—iii. 327.—iv. 427.—v. 267.—vi. 135. 196. 323 to 329.
Roman legislature - - - - - - - - vii. 183.
Rome - - ii. 150, 151.—vii. 147. 196 to 201.
Rousseau - - - - - - - - i. 287, note.
Roxana - - - - - - - - - viii. 135.
Royal day-book of Alexander the Great vii. 229.—viii. 447 to 453. 456 to 462.
Royal revenue - - - - - - - - vii. 193.

S.

Sacrifice - - - - - - - - - i. 101. 103.
Sadocus - - - - - - - - - ii. 373.
Saint Croix, baron vii. 231, note.—viii. 422, note. 447, note.
Salamis island - - - - - - - i. 345.—ii. 70.
Salamis in Cyprus - - - - - i. 331.—iv. 377.
Samos - i. 328. 437.—ii. 122. 290.—vi. 118. 183, 184.
Sangala, siege of - - - - - viii. 212, 213.
Sardanapalus, monument of - - - - vii. 426, 427.
Sardis - - - - - - - - - vii. 358.
Scanderbeg - - - - - - - - - vii. 257.
Scionë - - - - - iii. 47. 49. 188.—vii. 242.
Scythia - - - - - i. 403 to 406.—vi. 300.
Scythians - - viii. 85 to 116. 120 to 122. 130, 131.
Seafight; the first recorded in history - - i. 252.
Selinus - - - - iii. 165.—v. 317, 318. 323.
Sestus - - - - - - - - - vii. 242.
Seuthes son of Sparadocus - - - ii. 420.
Seuthes son of Mœsades - - iv. 279. 283 to 289.
Ships, antient - - - - - viii. 284 to 286. 422.
Sicily - - - - - - - - - i. 332. 334.
Sicyon - - - - i. 22. 24. 253.—v. 165 to 174.
Sidon - - - - - - - - - vii. 305, 306.
Sindomana - - - - - - - viii. 255.
Sisygambis - - - - - - - - viii. 34.
Sitalces king of Thrace - - ii. 372. 417 to 420.
Sithonia peninsula - - - - - vi. 354.
Slavery i. 238. 355.—vii. 152. 191.—viii. 232. 426, 427.
Smindyrides - - - - - - - vii. 164.
Sneezing - - - - - - - - iv. 201.
Socrates - - - - - - iii. 98.—iv. 126 to 140.
Sogdians - - - - - - - viii. 123 to 127.
Soli - - - - - - - - vii. 427, 428.
Solon i. 346. 351 to 354. 359 to 367. 369. 375 to 378. 382 to 384.
Somataphylakes - - - - - - - vii. 224.
Soothsayers - - - - - - - - i. 105.
Sophists - - - - - - - iv. 125, 126.
Sophocles - - - - - - - - ii. 284.
Spanish court - - - - - - - vii. 221.
Spenser's description of antient Britain - i. 53, note.
Sphacteria - - - - - ii. 491, 501. 505 to 510.

Sphodrias - - - - - - - - v. 52, 53. 90.
Spitamenes - - viii. 110. 114 to 116. 125 to 129.
Spithridates - - - - - - - - - vii. 340.
Stageira - - - - - - - - vii. 147.
Statira - - - - - - - - - vii. 464.
Sthenelaidas - - - - - - - - ii. 332.
Strabo - - vii. 161 to 163. 229, 230.—viii. 293, 294.
Stratonicē - - - - - - - - - ii. 420.
Stratus battle near - - - - - - - - ii. 406.
Strombichides Athenian - - - - - iii. 311.
Susa - - - - - viii. 29 to 31. 345 to 347.
Sword, two kinds of - - - - - - i. 51, note.
Sybaris in Italy - - - - - - - - ii. 152.
Sybota, sea-fights off - - - - - - ii. 360.
Sycophancy - - - - - - - - - iv. 23.
Syennesis king of Cilicia - - - - iv. 152. 156.
Syllium - - - - - - - - vii. 397, 398.
Synomosies - - - - - - - - iii. 340.
Syracuse - - - - - - - - - i. 336.
Syrmus - - - - - - - - - vii. 254.
Syrphax - - - - - - - - - vii. 361.

T.

Tactics - - - i. 374, note.—iv. 210, note. 403.
Tænarum - - - - - - - - - - i. 13.
Tagus, a Thessalian title - - - - - - v. 99.
Tamynœ, battle of - - - - - - vi. 334.
Tanagra, battle of - - - - - - - ii. 251.
Tapoors - - - - - - - - - viii. 62.
Tarquinius Priscus - - - - - - - ii. 150.
Tarsus - - - - - - - - - vii. 423.
Taxila - - - - - - - - - - viii. 192.
Taxyles - - - - - - - - viii. 167.
Taygetus - - - - - - - - - i. 13.
Taylor, Mr. - - - - - - viii. 343, note.
Tearless battle - - - - - - - v. 141.
Tegeans ii. 101. 113. 115.—v. 112. 115, 116. 210. 220.
Teleutias - iv. 428, 429. 437. 441, 442.—v. 21 to 25.
Teleclus - - - - - - - - - i. 291.
Telmissus - - - - - - - - vii. 402, 403.
Tempē - - - - - - - - - i. 37.—ii. 23.
Temples - - - - - - - - - - i. 99.

Ten - - - - - - - - - - iv. 80.
Tenthousand - iv. 264. - See Cyreian Greeks.
Teribazus - - iv. 221. 223. 408, 409.—vii. 297, 298.
Thais - - - - - - - - - - viii. 38.
Thales the poet - - - - - - - - - i. 260.
Thales of Miletus - - - - - - iv. 120, 121.
Tharype - - - - - - - - vii. 168 to 170.
Thasus - - - - - - - - - - ii. 229.
Thebes in Bœotia - - - i. 41.—vii. 231 to 231.
Themistocles Athenian ii. 15. 18. 23. 45, 46. 51. 60. 62 to 64. 67 to 69. 82. 84. 175. 178 to 192. 212. 215 to 223. —vii. 167.
Theocles - - - - - - - - - - i. 301.
Thera - - - - - - - - - - i. 332.
Theramenes Lacedæmonian - - - - - iii. 319.
Theramenes Athenian iii. 351. 374, 375. 377 to 379. 383. 489 to 491. 493, 494.—iv. 40 to 43. 49 to 52.
Thermopylæ - - - - - - - - ii. 26. 37.
Theron of Agrigentum - - - ii. 189.—iii. 144.
Theseus - - - - - - - - - i. 52. 55 to 67.
Thespiæ - - - - - - iii. 53.—v. 57 to 59.
Thessaly i. 11. 37. 191. 216.—ii. 23. 25. 259.—iii. 71.—v. 96. 99. 104. 142. 193.—vi. 63. 161. 276. 281 to 285. 462, 463.—vii. 144.
Thessaly, Lacedæmon and Rome, comparative views of the constitutions of - - - - - vii. 196 to 201.
Thimbron - - - - - - iv. 296. 300. 419.
Thirty - - - - - iii. 494.—iv. 35. 53 to 60.
Thrace i. 67 to 69.—ii. 371 to 373.—iii. 17. 32. 37 to 45. 47 to 57. 63 to 69. 142.—iv. 279.—vi. 156 to 159. 164. 168. 170 to 178. 272 to 274.—vii. 205, 206.
Thracians, character of - - - - - vii. 205.
Thrasybulus of Syracuse - - - - - iii. 147.
Thrasybulus son of Thrason - - - - - iii. 433.
Thrasybulus son of Lycus iii. 358. 360, 361. 364, 365. 387, 388. 390. 397. 413. 420. 431. 435, &c.—iv. 54 to 56. 58 to 63. 65 to 69. 429 to 433.
Thrasyllus Athenian iii. 358. 360, 361. 364, 365. 387, 388. 390. 395. 405 to 412. 415. 420. 435, 436.
Thrasymelidas Peloponnesian - - - - - ii. 493.
Thucydides the historian i. 210.—ii. 286.—iii. 39 to 41. 385. 393, note.—vii. 168, note.

Thucydides son of Melesias - - - - ii. 270. 278.
Thurium - - - - ii. 159, 160.—iii. 322.—v. 442.
Thymochares - - - - - - - iii. 381, 382. 394.
Thyrea - - - - - - - - - - iii. 11.
Tigris - - - - - - - - - - viii. 11.
Timocleia - - - - - - - - - vii. 280.
Timocrates - - - - - - - iv. 347.—v. 177.
Timocreon - - - - - - - - - ii. 187.
Timolaus - - - - - - - - - vii. 262.
Timoleon - - - - - vi. 7 to 42.—vii. 146.
Timophanes of Corinth - - - - - - vi. 6.
Timotheus v. 63, 64. 66. 69.—vi. 118, 119. 124, 125. 128. 142. 183 to 186.
Tinian; a remarkable piece of antiquity in, i. 100, note.
Tisamenus - - - - - - - - - ii. 96.
Tissaphernes iii. 301 to 303. 313. 317. 319, 320. 322 to 324. 326, 327. 329 to 331, 332, 333. 341 to 343. 368, 369. 386. 392, 393. 395. 405. 409. 430.—iv. 142. 145. 151. 172, 173. 185 to 188. 190 to 193. 300. 312. 334, 335, 337. 343.
Tithraustes satrap of Lydia - - - iv. 343. 347.
Titormus - - - - - - - - vii. 164, and note.
Tolmides - - - - - - - - ii. 256. 273.
Tournefort - - - - - - - iv. 229. 230, note.
Treason, law of - - - - - - - - iv. 32.
Triballians - - - - - - - vii. 251, 252.
Tripolis - - - - - - - - - vii. 306.
Trœzen - - - - - - - - - - i. 50.
Troy - - - - - - i. 70 to 80.—vii. 334 to 337.
Tuscans - - - - - - - - iii. 151.—v. 452.
Tuscany - - - - - - - - - ii. 147.
Tyndareus - - - - - - - - - i. 73.
Tyndarion - - - - - - - - - iii. 150.
Tyre i. 423.—vii. 469 to 474. siege of 475, 476; and viii. 3.
Tyranny - - - - - - - - - vii. 155.
Tyrant - - - - - - - - i. 237. 240. 380.
Tyrtæus - - - - - - - - - i. 302.

U.

Universal History, writers of the - viii. 224, note.
Uxians - - - - - - - - viii. 32 to 34.

V.

Vases - - - - - - - - - ii. 148, note.
Villoison, Mr. - - - - - - - vii. 231, note.
Vincent, Dr. viii. 209, note. 210, note. 232 to 234. 254, note. 261, note. 263. 266. 281 to 283. 290. 295 to 297. 299 to 301, note. 303, & note. 307, 308, & note. 311. 318, 319. 324. 326, 327. 343, note. 345, note. 349, note. 354, note. 367, note. 373, note. 413, note. 427 to 429. 434. 447, note.
Voltaire - - - - - - - - viii. 261, note.
Voyage of Nearchus viii. 281 to 347.—See Vincent.

W.

Walachia - - - - - - - - viii. 87, 91.
War, art of - - i. 138 to 147. 160 to 162.—iv. 403.
William I. - - - - - - - viii. 261, 262, note.
Women - - - - - - - i. 166.—ii. 281.
World; the age of - - - - - - - i. 118.

X.

Xenophon son of Euripides - - ii. 391. 401, 402.
Xenophon the historian iii. 393, note.—iv. 150. 171. 193, 194. 196 to 201. 243. 248. 267. 276, 277. 282. 290 to 295. —v. 273 to 304.—vii. 149, 150.
Xerxes ii. 2. 4, note. 5. 8. 19, 20. 28. 31, 32. 36, 37. 41. 43. 66. 70 to 77. 114. 128. 201.

Z.

Zancle - - - - - - - - - - i. 311.
Zarex - - - - - - - - - - i. 13.
Zeuxis - - - - - - - - - ii. 284.

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